

Baghdad, June 8, 1943.

No. 334

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: Future of Iraqi Assyrians Troubling British
Authorities in Iraq.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to state that various reports reaching the Legation indicate that the British authorities in Iraq, both in the Embassy and in the armed forces, are considering with perplexity the problem of what to do with the Assyrians of Iraq if and when the mass of British troops are withdrawn from this area.

The Department will remember that the Assyrian minority of some 40,000 souls have long been protégés of the British Government, ever since the end of the first World War when the Iraq Levies were organized, chiefly from newly immigrated Assyrian fighting stock, as a local force of mercenaries under British command and wearing British uniforms to police the Mesopotamian mandate. The Assyrians proved themselves to be fine fighting men, amenable to the discipline of the British officers put over them and skilled at learning the ways of warfare needed in this terrain. They also quickly assumed an arrogance and prosperity which was galling to the Iraqi Government and people, and which finally led up to the tragic Assyrian troubles of the early years of Iraqi independence.

As the Department is aware, various schemes for solution of this vexations problem were put forward, chiefly in the form of proposing to assist the Assyrians to emigrate en bloc to some selected spot, (Syria, Kenya, and the upland plateau of British Guiana were among the places mentioned) where they could be a homogeneous group settled in land suitable for their agricultural economy. However, no final solution was ever worked out, both because of local difficulties and because of the Assyrian feeling that because of their services to the British Government they could insist on having the moon itself. There the case rested until Iraqi feelings of antagonism toward the Assyrian minority in the country were re-fueled by the part which the Iraq Levies (mostly Assyrian with a small number of Kurdish and Arab recruits) played in defending the Royal Air Force depot at Habbaniya and fighting the Iraqi Army to defeat in the difficult days of May 1941. The resentment and bitterness engendered at that time by the anti-Iraqi assistance of the Assyrians to the British left such a wound

in Iraqi

in Iraqi sensibilities that they are said to feel that only extermination of this minority from Iraqi soil can avenge it.

The Iraq Levies have continued in the past two years to take an active part in the work of the British troops in maintaining lines of communication and local security. Late in the year 1941 Nuri Pasha was informed by the British of their intention of expanding the Levies to a strength of 5,000 men, and he is reported at that time to have requested that the Assyrians enlisted be taken from the Assyrian settlements in Syria (so that they could be officially regarded as foreigners, similar in status to the Indian troops in Iraq), and to have wished that at least 500 of the new men recruited be Kurds and Arabs rather than Assyrians. One informed British source in Baghdad estimates that in Iraq 90% of the male adult Assyrians under 50 years old have, at one time or another, been enlisted in the Levies.

The position at the moment is, then, that the Assyrians are very much the cooks-of-the-walk, and that the Iraqis - and especially the Iraqi Army - are impatiently awaiting the day of retribution on the Assyrians for the assistance which they gave to the Iraq Army's enemy in 1941. Persons who are familiar with conditions in Northern Iraq state that in every district the Iraqi officials keep a careful record of exactly what families have given recruits to the Levies. Furthermore, even though the Assyrians are brave and vigorous fighters, it is obvious that with the Iraqi Army's equipment being expanded with out-moded tanks and planes from the British, the Assyrians would not stand a chance in defending themselves or their homes. If the Assyrians are left in Iraq after a British withdrawal, the prospect which faces them is therefore one of extermination.

But what can be done to save them? Here in Iraq they cannot well be settled, both because to settle them as a homogeneous group in any single area would mean the necessary ouster of many Kurdish and Arab villagers (which would lead to further trouble), but also because of the antagonism which the Assyrian assistance to the British in 1941 has engendered. It is also difficult to think of transporting a group of 40,000 persons to a new homeland, especially when they themselves are so arrogant and demanding. Yet the British here are very conscious of the British obligations toward them.

The Ambassador himself is reported to be very sentimental with regard to Assyrian claims on the British. For example, when the subscriptions for the Victory Fund for British War Charities was opened in Iraq, an Assyrian girl sent four eggs as her contribution, her "widow's mite". The Ambassador was so touched that he arranged for her future education at British expense.

The Legation has received no indication of what plans, if any, the British here are making for the Assyrians. Nevertheless, it believes that the Department will be interested to know that the problem exists,

that it

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that it is considered immediate and urgent, and that the alternative to re-settlement abroad for the Assyrians seems to be eventual extermination at the hands of the Iraq Army.

Respectfully yours,

Thomas M. Wilson

File no. 800
REG/dcb

A true copy of
the signed original.
REG

To the Department in original and hectograph.
Copy to:
American Legation, Damascus.

Baghdad, June 15, 1943.

No. 343

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: R.A.F. Investigating Possible Settlement
Area in Syria for Iraqi Assyrians.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch no. 334 of June 8, 1943, regarding British official concern over the future of the Iraqi Assyrian community, and to state that the Legation is informed by a reliable source that Air Vice Marshal Champion de Crespigny, Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, in this area has visited during the past week north-western Iraq and north-eastern Syria to investigate possible settlement areas for a mass emigration of the Iraqi Assyrians into Syria.

It is understood that the Air Vice Marshal was favorably impressed with land in the Khabur River Valley, north-east of Deir-Ez-Zor, where some Assyrians are already settled. It will be recalled that it was to this area that the ill-fated Assyrian emigrants of 1933 were going when the French authorities turned them back. The country is reported to be well-watered and fertile, and capable of supporting a much larger population than are at present there.

Since the Iraq Levies, in which the Assyrians form the large majority, are a unit of the Royal Air Force in this area, it is natural that the Air Officer Commanding should be the man to be the most immediately concerned with the future of Iraq's Assyrians. The Air Vice Marshal is reported to have discussed the proposal of settlement in the Khabur Valley with various Assyrian leaders who asserted that their people could not go to the Khabur Valley with any hope of permanent and safe settlement as long as the French controlled Syria. They were, of course, thinking of their experience in 1933 when they were disarmed and sent back across the Iraqi border by the French authorities. The Air Vice Marshal is said to have replied to them that French control of Syria might soon be a thing of the past.

Respectfully yours,

WMB
Thomas M. Wilson

File no. 800
REG/dob

To the Department in original and hectograph.
Copy to: American Legation, Damascus.

Baghdad, February 17, 1943

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

No. 188

Subject: Recent Developments in Connection with Kurdish
Nationalist Aspirations.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch no. 1939 of June 3, 1942, forwarding a British intelligence report on the recent history of Kurdish nationalist activity and to report that on February 3, 1943, five Kurds were arrested at Erbil, Iraq, for spreading Kurdish nationalist propaganda. Among the prisoners was one Awni Yusef, a young judge who was visiting the province whence he had earlier been banished for similar activity. He is a popular figure with the younger Kurds of the city, and when his arrest became known, some thirty to forty students are reported to have proceeded in a body to the Governor to demand his release. These and other students were also arrested by the Iraqi authorities, but their release has since been ordered, subject to provision of a bond ranging from I.D.100 to I.D.200 (about \$400 to \$800) as security for their good behavior.

Unimportant in itself, the incident is interesting because of developments here in the past year in connection with Kurdish nationalist aspirations. A well-informed British source at Baghdad puts the Kurdish population of Iraq conservatively at 750,000 persons, located entirely (except for the ubiquitous Kurdish porters of all the larger cities of Iraq) in the northern liwas which were made up from the former Ottoman vilayet of Mosul. The same source estimates that there are another million Kurds (not counting related folk-groups like the Bakhtiari and the Lurs) in neighboring Iran, and there are also Kurdish minorities in Turkey and Syria. The Kurds of Iraq represent nearly 20% of the total population of the country, which this source sets at 4,000,000-4,500,000.

As compared with the Arabs of Iraq, the Kurdish tribesmen have experienced more of the hardships than the profits of the presence of Allied Forces in Iraq. A harsh winter in 1941-42, together with lack of rain in 1942, made their crops poor in quality and scanty. Luckily for them, they increased their cereal crop this past year at the expense of their tobacco acreage, for the Government monopoly price for tobacco this year has not been raised commensurately with the greatly increased cost of living.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, misery and starvation, never far away, have entered many Kurdish settlements this year.

According to the above-cited British source at Baghdad, the Kurds expected some reward for their good behavior during the Rashid Ali AL-QAILANI disturbances of May, 1941, and their friendly attitude toward the British Forces. While the Kurdish leaders appreciate Britain's need for maintaining a policy of close association with the Arabs, they have felt that a limited cultural autonomy might have been effected in May, 1941, within the bounds of the Iraqi Constitution. They hoped, for example, that Kurdish local officials might be appointed in Kurdish districts and that the teaching of Kurdish in the primary and secondary schools would be permitted by the Ministry of Education. Neither of these hopes has been realized.

Instead of concessions to the Kurds, the past months have been witness to a revival of Baghdad's interest in Pan-Arabism, and the Iraqi declaration of war upon the Axis powers, in strengthening the Iraqi Government's position, is felt by the Kurds to be a blow at nationalist minority aspirations. The resultant tightening of Anglo-Iraqi ties makes it difficult to press Kurdish desires upon the attention of the Government at Baghdad, and the Arab rulers of Iraq, sitting at the Peace Conference as representatives of one of the United Nations, will be able to oppose vigorously and effectively any suggestion of Kurdish autonomy. The increased anti-Zionist feeling which has paralleled the flaming up of the Pan-Arab sentiment also bodes ill for the treatment of all minorities within the country, Kurd, Assyrian, Iranian, and Yezidi as well as Jew.

The Kurds are reported to feel that the British Advisers to the Iraqi Government, except for Major C. J. Edmonds, the Advisor handling tribal affairs in the Ministry of the Interior, are uniformly ignorant of the merits of the Kurdish desires and unsympathetic to their aspirations. The observer whose opinion is being given states that the Kurds feel that they are poorly represented and ill understood at Baghdad, where their chief notables in the Government are Daud AL-HAIDERI PASHA, the Minister of Justice, and two members of the great Kurdish family of Baban, Jamal (a former Minister) and Ahmad Mukhtar, the present Minister of Communications and Works. The latter cannot even speak Kurdish. All three men, this observer feels, are more pro-British than pro-Kurd in their attitude, and all of them have too much stake in the present political life of Baghdad to hazard vigorous leadership of a movement for Kurdish autonomy under which they might find themselves relegated to a minor place.

In a recent talk with an officer of the Legation, Daud Al-Haideri Pasha gave expression to his ideas on Kurdish nationalism. He himself was brought up in Istanbul as the son of the Sheikh ul-Islam of the day, and, after training at the Turkish Military Academy, he served through four years of the First World War as aide de camp of Mustapha Kemal Pasha. His primary language is Turkish rather than Kurdish, and he talks and acts like a cultivated Turkish gentleman of the Ottoman school. However, on the political scene in Baghdad, Daud Pasha is one of the leading Kurdish figures, and he professes to feel strongly the Kurdish blood within him.

Daud Pasha

Daud Pasha feels that Kurdish nationalist aspirations should be directed toward attaining an autonomy within the Iraqi state on the order of that of Scotland within the United Kingdom. He believes that Iraqi Kurdistan should include all of the former vilayet of Mosul with the exception of the Arab city of Mosul and the Turkoman district of Kirkuk. A Minister for Kurdish Interests should be named to the Cabinet (instead of the present practice of including some politicians - like Daud - of Kurdish blood in the Cabinet as Iraqi Ministers), and Kurdish should be made the official language of the autonomous Kurdistan. According to Daud Pasha, the grant of a kind of Home Rule to Kurdistan would coincide with a very necessary decentralization of administration in the rest of Iraq in which Baghdad would no longer receive all the attention and all the favors of the Government.

Daud Pasha's complaints against the Arab Government at Baghdad are that it has not allotted to the Kurdish areas their proportionate share of state expenditures on roads, irrigation, health, public works and education, that it has not sent Kurdish as well as Arab youths abroad to study at Government expense, and that it has ignored the fact that a large share of its revenue comes from the oil production of the Kurdish districts. He feels that the Kurds should have equal rights and equal advantages with the Arabs. "After all," he said, "we Kurds are Aryans and better men than these Semitic Arabs."

With reference to the question of an independent Kurdish state as opposed to an autonomous Kurdistan within the Iraqi State, Daud believes that Turkey would go to war to prevent its creation. According to his (probably considerably exaggerated) figures, there are 1,000,000 Kurds in Iraq, 2,500,000 in Iran, 7,000,000 in Turkey, 750,000 in Russia and some 500,000 in Syria, making a total of 11,750,000 in this area. He sees three possibilities for the Iraqi Kurds at the end of the war: (1) If they are represented at the Peace Conference, and attain their goal of self-determination as they believe they see it promised in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations, then they may achieve the autonomy within Iraq which they need; (2) If they do not gain that autonomy, they will rise in revolt and seek incorporation of their land in Turkey, where they are assured of fair treatment as Turkish citizens if not as Kurds; or (3), they may become part of a Kurdish Soviet Republic, stretching from the Caspian to the Syrian desert. He feels that his people, being an agricultural people of small landholdings, are particularly susceptible to Russian Communist proselytization, and that their experience with the Russian forces of occupation in Iran has made the Russians already popular with them.

Some speculation was aroused in Baghdad and among the Kurds at the purpose of the action last Fall of the British Embassy Public Relations Office in setting up in the main square of Suleimaniya, one of the chief Kurdish cities in Iraq, a public address loudspeaker over which newsbulletins in the Kurdish language and Kurdish music and recitations are regularly given. The British Ministry of War Information has also made a recent popular move with the Kurds by broadcasting regularly in Kurdish from the Sharq Al-Adna radio station, which is located at Jaffa, Palestine, and which is so powerful a transmitter that it can be better heard in

the northern lines than the small Baghdad station, which also broadcasts for half an hour a day in Kurdish. The Jaffa broadcasts and the public address loudspeaker's programs have both been received enthusiastically by the Kurds, who read into their appearance an effort by the British Government to show its interest in them. Needless to say, the Arabs living in Kurdish areas have not responded with equal enthusiasm.

Last November the Legation heard that one of the purposes of a recently founded "National Turkish Society", organized by Mulla Midha (or Riza), a religious notable of Kirkuk, was to counter any move for Kurdish independence. It was reported that the Turkish and Iraqi Governments were believed to be lending secret support to the organization, which acquired over one hundred members - Arab, Turkish and Turkoman Iraqis - in the first month of its first inception. Later the Society spread its activities to Khaniqin and other Turkoman centers.

The Kurds of Iraq have close ties with the Kurds in Iran; in fact, some of the tribes as the Miran, spread through Syria, Iraq and Iran. Others migrate from one country to another, in their seasonal trips seeking fresh pasture lands. One of the latter tribes, the Jaf, is said to have returned from Iran to its winter grazing lands in Iraq early last August instead of at the end of September, as was usual in the past, because of ill-treatment, not only at the hands of the Iranian Government officials but also at the hands of their own Kurdish kinsmen, who oppressed them with exorbitant demands for high grazing fees.

Reports reaching Baghdad from Iranian Kurdistan indicate that the country is fairly quiet now after considerable activity among the tribes all summer. The British Consul General at Tabriz is quoted as having told his Government that the Russian policy has recently oscillated between incitement and repression of the Kurds. Early last summer, when the Turks seemed threatening, the Russian endeavor was to strengthen their own military position on the Turkish frontier and to keep the Iranians weak by making much of the Kurds. Latterly, however, the Russians seem to have felt the necessity of keeping down Kurdish hubris in relation to the Iranians and of quelling inter-tribal feuds, but they try to do this without losing Kurdish friendship. The success of their efforts is questionable, the Consul General felt. The Russians are reported to have taken advantage of a summer gathering of a number of important Kurdish chiefs of Iran to impress them with the Russian determination that talk of a Kurdish republic and moves fostering rebellions of Kurdish tribesmen against the Iranian Government must not put in hazard the security of Russo-British lines of communication. The recent Russian military successes have naturally strengthened their hand and made discipline easier to enforce.

It is the Legation's opinion that while the war lasts, the Kurds of Iraq can hope only for very minor concessions from the Baghdad Government. They have at present no leaders who seem ready and able to lead their people in a successful struggle for autonomy within the Iraqi State or for independence. The ferment of nationalism is strong within them; the talk of fighting for Arab unity is equally

efficacious

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efficacious in inspiring the younger Kurds to take up the banner of Kurdish unity and autonomy. But the Kurds themselves are disunited and so apparently incapable of communal action that their prospects for the future seem dim and less than hopeful. There is even a split between generations, the older Kurds wishing to carry on the ancient ritual of inter-tribal politics while the younger men are more aware of being Kurds than tribesmen and pin their hopes on realization of Kurdish unity and self-determination. A strong leader of character similar to Ataturk, might possibly be able to make a unified nation of them, but even he would need vigorous outside support, either British or Russian, and would probably face an invading Turkish army before he got his state set up. A Kurdish State may emerge from the post-war re-shuffle of frontiers and peoples, but at the moment it seems to be little more than a wild dream of the younger Kurdish enthusiasts.

Respectfully yours,

T. H. Wilson

File No. 800
RMG:mph

Copies to:

American Embassy, Ankara.
American Legation, Teheran.

To the Department in Original and Hecotograph.

Baghdad, July 23, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. 382

Subject: Difficult Economic Situation in That Part
of Kurdistan Along Iraqi-Persian Frontier.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatches no. 1939 of June 3, 1942, regarding Kurdish nationalism, and no. 188 of February 17, 1943, regarding revived Kurdish nationalist activity, and to forward as an enclosure herewith the text of a review of the economic situation in the frontier districts of Kurdistan in May and June 1943. The review was made up by the Combined Intelligence Centre Iraq from the reports of two British political intelligence officers who recently toured the Kurdish frontier country. The "Government" referred to is the Iraqi Government at Baghdad.

In view of the serious plight of the Kurds of Northern Iraq, as pictured in this review, it is not difficult to understand why the three German parachutists and their Iraqi comrade, who were dropped in Kurdistan on the night of June 16-17 (See this Legation's despatch no. 370 of July 9, 1943) were dressed as Kurds, intending to work among the Kurdish nationalists, who should prove to be easy subjects for persuasion to assist in sabotage and other anti-Government acts.

Respectfully yours,

DC
Daniel Gaudin, jr.
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

File No. 800
REG:mph

Enclosure:

Review of Economic Situation in Kurdistan.

Copy to:

American Legation, Tehran.



Enclosure to Legation's despatch No. 382 of July 23, 1943.

A Review of the Economic Situation in the Frontier Districts
of Kurdistan, May - June 1943

1. Two officers have recently made independent tours of the outlying districts in Kurdistan on the Iraqi - Persian frontier. A sketch map of their journeys is given at Appendix "B". In their reports they stress the bad economic situation, both past and present, and are not optimistic regarding the future.

2. Last winter was disastrous for the villagers and many people died of starvation. Some idea of their sufferings may be gained when it is realised that even under normal conditions there are several permanent factors which militate against a state of well-being and the poor find it extremely difficult to eke out an adequate existence. Not the least of these factors are:-

- (a) A feudal and non-progressive system of rule under the Aghas (local chiefs).
- (b) The gross mismanagement by the Government of the tobacco control.
- (c) Poor means of communication.

Their plight last winter was further aggravated by the effects of:

- (d) An exceptionally cold winter in 1941-42 which caused the death of a large number of livestock.
- (e) Considerable damage to the 1942 grain crop in this region by the Sunn pest.
- (f) The inadequate provision by the Government of grain to see the populace through the winter.
- (g) The sale, during the winter of 1942-43, of further large numbers of livestock in order to purchase at exorbitant prices what little grain was on sale on the free market.
- (h) The progressive decline in the quantity of motor transport available in the region.

Agriculture.

3. The main characteristic of this fertile region is that it is not self-sufficient in foodstuffs and relies on the sale of the main crop, tobacco, for the purchase of staples. Wheat and barley are grown in small quantities as is rice, which, though fairly plentiful, is of secondary importance in this bread-eating community. The spring has been mild and autumn sown crops are reported to be excellent but these are offset to a great extent by reduced sowings. During the winter, grain was needed much more for maintenance than as capital to be held for future needs. It is estimated that only about half the population is in a position to make adequate provision for food supplies, the other half, whose condition is said to range from extreme poverty to complete destitution, is dependent on such measures as the Government may put into force. Last year's efforts give no grounds for optimism in this respect.

Tobacco.

4. In normal times the livelihood of the region depends largely on tobacco cultivation, the disposal of which is under Government control. For the cultivator, disposal of the crop is just as important as the growing for, if he cannot dispose of it at a reasonable price and receive payment before winter the result is just as bad as a failure of the crop. In the past there has been lack of transport and storage facilities and the Government, through sheer inefficiency and corruption, delayed payment. From CHOARTA, for example, it is reported that assessment and payment of last year's crop is still unfinished. To be of any use assessment and payment of the crop should be completed by October at the latest to enable the cultivator to purchase his needs of grain and other necessities before winter sets in and movement is made difficult through snow closing the roads. All too often late payment means a great reduction in purchasing power owing to the seasonal rise in prices.

5. This year's crop has not yet been planted out so any estimate is at present impossible. It seems likely, however, that it will be seriously affected by a pest known as the "cat worm", which attacks the seedlings and destroys the root. It has already made its appearance in several places in the SULAIMANIA liwa.

P A R A P H R A S E
TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: November 20, 8 p. m.

No.: 447

Code: Confidential

Charged to: Contingent

1-1142

Reference Legation's telegram no. 446 of November 20, 1943.

During conversations which I had with the Acting Regent, Prime Minister, and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in connection with the presentation of my letters of credence, they individually raised the problem of the Lebanon. To the first two I replied as instructed in the Department's telegram no. 220 of November 18, 2 p. m. I outlined the American attitude as set forth in that same telegram to the Foreign Minister.

All three were highly gratified at the prompt action which has been taken by us and they expressed the hope that America would not cease pressing the French Committee until it takes the steps which we have told it we expect.

Nuri Pasha was especially grateful. In confidence he stated that it was his hope that the U.S. government would continue to be active and would not leave further initiative entirely to the British. He was convinced of the sincerity of the British desire to see the complete independence of the Lebanon established, but was afraid that their own mandate in Palestine handicapped them in dealing with the situation. Should the British put pressure on the French to abandon their pretensions to a preferred position in the Lebanon as well as to abandon their mandate there, the French might well insist that the special position of the British in Palestine be likewise given up. The danger therefore existed that unless the American Government continued to be active in the negotiations between the French and the Lebanese, they might bog down and in time result in some sort of an arrangement of "appeasement" which the British would not feel in a position to reject, no matter how much they did not like it. This appeasement arrangement would mean that for the time being, at least, that the Arab dreams of real freedom and an opportunity to assume the place in the post-war world to which the Arab peoples feel they are entitled, due to their

See Lebanon copy

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recent political development and ancient glories,
would be rudely shattered.

It was upon the United States the Arab hopes
for the future were primarily pinned. The failure
of the United States to insist that the principles
of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations dec-
laration be lived up to by those signing or adhering
to those documents would only serve to demoralize
the Near Eastern peoples.

Repeated to Beirut and Cairo.

Henderson

File no. 800
LWH/dcb

NOTE: The above telegram was repeated to Cairo and
Beirut as this Legation's telegram of November
20, 9 p. m. DCB

Baghdad, December 1, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. 22

Subject: Kurdish Nationalist Students Present Petition
Asking American Help to Realize an Independent
Kurdistan.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that three Kurdish students of the Baghdad Law College appeared at the Legation yesterday to present on behalf of the Kurdish Secret Society a petition asking that the United States help to create in the post-war world a sovereign Kurdish state in the present Kurdish areas of Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria. I enclose herewith a brief memorandum by Third Secretary Richard E. Gnede, who received the students, together with the texts of their petition and of a memorandum which was submitted at the same time. The pamphlet in Kurdish about the Kurds and tracings of the map of Kurdistan, as mentioned in the petition, are also enclosed. Concerning this matter reference is made to the Legation's despatch no. 188 of February 17, 1943, regarding recent developments in connection with Kurdish nationalist aspirations, and to despatch no. 382 of July 23, 1943, regarding the difficult economic situation in that part of Kurdistan along the Iraqi-Persian frontier.

The Department's attention is especially directed to the fact that the Legation agreed to the request of the students that no word of their action in presenting this petition would be communicated to the British or local authorities. Little comment need be devoted to the petition, which speaks for itself. It will be noted that the boundaries of national Kurdistan - or of the Kurdish state desired by the petitioners - embrace a considerably smaller area than the Kurdistan outlined on the enclosed map. The estimates of the number of Kurds living in Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and Iran are considerably larger than those to be found in the usual treatises on the subject.

During the past summer some activity on the part of the Kurdish nationalists at Baghdad took place. The 'Hadi Irtica' (Evolution Club), known in Kurdish as the 'Yani-i-Serkawtin', a Kurdish nationalist organization, was said to be flourishing with a membership made up mostly of Kurds from southern Kurdistan, centering about Sulaimaniya. It is of interest that the three students

who/

who presented the petition at the Legation were from three different cities - Kirkuk, Erbil, and Sulaimaniya, and one bore the name of the great Jar tribe.

In the past week the Legation has heard that Ma'aruf Chiyawuk, a Kurdish judge in the Iraqi civil courts, is sponsoring a move to establish at Baghdad - with Government sanction - a Kurdish club which will combine the functions of a club, restaurant, and home for Kurdish students in the city. It is stated that I.D. 7500 (about \$30,000) has already been raised for the purpose, and that the Government's permission to open the club has been requested. It is suggested that it be called the Salaheddin Al-Ayoubi Club, named for Saladin, the famous Kurdish opponent of the Crusaders. The Department will recall that last Spring, at the time when the Pan Arab enthusiasts were talking of opening an Arab Union Club at Baghdad, the Legation reported that the Kurds in the city had asked permission for a Kurdish Club, and the necessity of refusing such permission was one of the reasons why the Government let the idea of an Arab Union Club drop.

It will be recalled that Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister of Iraq, during one of his conversations with me incidental to my presentation of letters of credence, stated that his hesitation in agreeing to exchange diplomatic representatives with the Soviet Union was due in part to unsubstantiated reports to the effect that Soviet agents had been stirring up the Nationalist aspirations of the Kurds. He added that there could be no doubt that the Kurd Nationalists felt that they had Soviet backing. The favorable mention of the Soviet Union set forth in the memorandum is interesting in the light of his remarks.

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

File No. 800
REG:LWH:nph

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum prepared by Third Secretary Grade.
2. Communication addressed to Mr. Henderson by Kurdish Society.
3. "Memorandum on the Kurdish Question".
4. Map of Kurdistan, in triplicate.

Enclosure no. 1
to despatch no. 22
of December 1, 1943
from the American
Legation, Baghdad.

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Kurdish Nationalism.

By: Richard E. Gnade.

Three Kurdish students of the Baghdad Law College - Kaka Hanid, Jalal Jaf and Rashid Bajelan - appeared at the office this morning to leave for the Minister a memorandum on Kurdish Nationalism. They claimed to be representatives of the Kurdish Secret Society, and said that they wished to leave the memorandum - together with a map of Kurdistan and a pamphlet in Kurdish about the Kurds - for the Minister in the hope that if he found it interesting, he would pass it on to the United States Government. They also said that, if he wished, they could arrange for the head of their Society to call upon him.

They asked that the Legation refrain from telling the British authorities of their visit, and I agreed to this. I told them that the Legation was only the eyes and ears of the United States Government at Baghdad, and that it had no desire to mix into internal affairs of the Iraqi state. They must therefore understand, I said, that acceptance of this communication for the Minister was no expression of the Legation's opinion on the merits of the cause they were supporting.

R.E.G.

Baghdad, November 30, 1943.

Enclosure no. 2 to
despatch no. 22 of
December 1, 1943,
from the American
Legation, Baghdad.

H. E. Mr. L. Henderson,
The United States American Minister,
Baghdad.

Sir:

The Kurdish Youth of Iraq present their compliment to your Excellency and have the honour of submitting this note with some amplifying documents concerning the Kurdish Nation, requesting that they will kindly find their way through your good offices to the Government of the United States of America. The statements contained in this note have already been made verbally and in writing to Mr. Wendell Wilkie on his recent visit to the Middle East, and we intend hereby to set forth before you our hopes and aspirations which only the the United Nations, fighting for the "Four Freedoms" enunciated by your great President and have declared their noble aims in the "Atlantic Charter," can help and act to make true.

At the end of the First Great War, the peoples of the East in general, and the peoples of the Near and Middle East in particular, rose from their centuries old lethargy to find themselves wallowing in ignorance and stumbling in backwardness, and to find their way out to liberty and nationhood. One and all began to claim their right to freedom and independence in the light of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. But due to the policy of isolation adopted by the United States at the time some nations failed in the fulfillment of their aims. This failure has brought in, ever since, great suffering and trouble. The policy of isolation gave way to some States to interfere in the affairs of other nations as their selfish interest may dictate.

Among these victims was the Kurdish Nation whose territory was divided up and requisitioned by four countries, namely, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Then and after its appeals and protests were in vain and when all peaceful methods failed to gain their legitimate claims, this nation took to arms and revolted. Thus there came about the Dursin revolt (in Turkey) after the Peace Conference; Ismail Agha Al-Shakaki's revolt in 1922 (in Iran); Sheikh Said's revolt of Diar Baker in 1925, which had almost put an end to the Turkish Kemalist Republic had it not been for the French interference against the Kurds; Sheikh Mahmud's two revolts at Sulaimanyah in 1924 and 1927; Barzan revolt in 1931; the Yezidi's revolt in 1936; and Barzan revolt again to-day.

These revolts give definite proof of the wrong policy formulated in the Peace Conference after the last War to divide up this nation among four countries as has already been stated above. These countries have nothing in common with the Kurds as regards customs, languages and traditions. The revolts also have clearly shown the vitality of this nation and its burning desire to be free

from/

from servitude.

Of all the countries of the Near and Middle East the Kurdish people are the most capable of adapting themselves to modern civilization and are hardly surpassed in their readiness to learn. They are resourceful and intelligent. Their bravery is unrivalled. All this can be ascertained from and attested to by Orientalists and foreigners who lived in this part of the world. Had it not been for this shameful partition, the progress of the Kurds would have been more marked and forceful. The cascade of revolts since 1922, as a result of mal-administration by succeeding governments which had the unlawful authority of governing them, had taken a terrible toll of life and property from them. They had to go through exile, famine, privation, disease and all the horrors of wilful oppression and injustice. Yet they neither gave up nor gave in. They are the unsung heroes of faith and loyalty to one cause--their own cause which was thrown to the wolves; they are the victims of short-sightedness which the makers of maps had after the last war.

All nations were promised self-determination in the last war, but the Kurdish nation had not, in spite of bloody struggles, been given the chance. Many of the nations then were offered plebiscites, but the Kurdish nation could not make its voice heard; it was drowned by those who did not want it heard. If such countries as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were made into geographical and political entities, notwithstanding the internal diversity of each in language, customs and ambitions, then the Kurds should have been given first consideration for being a nation by itself, judged by the proximity of its various sections and the bond of a single language. They have been living for ages in one geographical unit in spite of partition.

What can the Americans do for the Kurds? They can help to create a new nation out of the present boundaries of the Kurdish speaking sections of Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq. Isolationism is now dead and an era of understanding and enlightenment is dawning. We do not think that America will leave the weak nations alone as she did after the last war. Twice in our life-time the world has witnessed the forces of evil surging to plunge it into darkness. In this war, as in the last, America is a leading country in suppressing these forces. Will America remember the dismembered Kurds, or rather will she forget the Kurds? This time we are fully confident that she will not forget. If, due to more pressing matters, she ever will, then we trust that this note shall not have been submitted in vain. By this note we mean to remind America that a suppressed and wronged nation is crying for help. That nation is the Kurdish Nation. They are ever grateful and never forget an act of kindness.

America will have a temple in the heart of every Kurd. That temple holds Justice and Independence which America will, by her action and wisdom, mete to the Kurdish Nation in the coming and existing councils of the United Nations.

The Kurdish Confidential Society Secretary

Enclosures:-

1. Map of Kurdistan.
2. Dawaye Milli Kurd (An Introduction to the Kurdish Nation, written in Kurdish).
3. Memorandum on the Kurdish Question.

Enclosure no. 3 to
despatch no. 22 of
December 1, 1943,
from the American
Legation, Baghdad.

MEMORANDUM ON THE KURDISH QUESTION

Kurdistan and the Middle East

Kurdistan constitutes the backbone of the Middle East.

It comprises the greater part of the mountains ranging from the Black Sea near the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf as well as fertile plains to the West.

Kurdistan is inhabited by one nation, the Kurds. Numbering over a million, they are a courageous, hardworking race, who count loyalty, toleration and the love of liberty among their dearest traditions. Since the dawn of history they have maintained their national existence in their country.

The Kurds are distinct from their neighbours in race, language and culture. They lie between and separate from each other the Turks (to the West), the Russians (to the North-East), the Persians (to the East) and the Arabs (to the South).

Kurdistan, which is clearly a harmonious geographical, economic and national entity will inevitably play an important part in the Middle East of the future. Placed at the strategic keypoint between the West and the East, it should be permitted to become a self-supporting community, a stable political factor, instead of being the meeting-point of conflicting interests, as at present.

In Turkey, Iran and Iraq, where the Kurds constitute powerful minorities, their response to measures aiming at compulsory assimilation has shown that all attempts to find a solution to the Kurdish problem in that direction are doomed to failure.

Apart from a possible loss of prestige, Turks, Iranians and Arabs alike can only benefit by facing the fact that they cannot absorb the Kurdish nation, and by acquiescing in steps calculated to change a troublesome minority into a friendly neighbour.

Ethnographic boundaries

To the West: A line starting from the Kurd-Dagh (Syria), running in a northerly direction through the regions of Killis, Marash, Albistan, and Divrik to the Kelkit river. South-West of this line, there are scattered Kurdish settlements as far as the gulf of Alexandretta.

To the North: A line following the Kelkit river, running east through the towns of Baiburt and Olty to Kars.

North of this line scattered Kurdish settlements reach the Black Sea near Trebizond.

To the

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no. 3 of despatch
no. 22 dated December 1, 1943.

To the East: A line starting from Kars in a southeasterly direction, then running along the western shore of Lake Urmia, Luristan, the Bakhtiar country to Sehneh and Kermanshah.

To the South: From Southern Luristan a line running north west through Khanakin and Kifri to the Jebel Hamrin; from there to the west, south of Mount Singer to the Euphrates near Jerbalus.

Political Boundaries

Before the First World War, Kurdistan was divided between Turkey and Persia, with a small Kurdish community in Russia. The Peace Conference and the various Treaties with Turkey resulted in a Kurdistan divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Russia. In Russia there are only about 160,000 Kurds, who enjoy full cultural liberty, with the active support of the Government.

The southern strip of Western Turkish Kurdistan was included in the French mandated territory of Syria.

The Turko-Iraq boundary "broke into two the heart of historic Kurdistan.....it destroyed the chances of an evolution of the Kurdish tribes as a nationality for generations to come". (Encycl. Br. 14th Ed., art, Mosul).

Physical Geography and Natural Resources

Kurdistan is mainly mountainous but contains large and fertile plains and valleys. Such are the plain of Diarbekr, Passen, Much, Kharput, Jezireh, the valleys of Tigris and Euphrates and their tributaries.

Kurdistan is chiefly an agricultural country, producing all kinds of cereals, flax, tobacco, sesame, all kinds of vegetables, almonds, figs, nuts olives, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, prunes, cherries, grapes, pomegranates, mulberries, etc.

The country is rich in livestock and the pastures are good.

Mineral resources have been little exploited, with the exception of copper near Diarbekr and petroleum in southern Kurdistan. Iron, tin, coal, sulphur, lead and silver are also present in large quantities.

There are several textile factories in the large centres and home industry is widespread: textiles (wool, linen and silk), rugs, leather-work, silversmith's work, tools (iron, steel and copper).

There is a large export-trade in wool, mohair, gall-nuts, silk, smoked and salted fish, cheese, butter, hides, skins and livestock.

Towns

About 20 towns average from 30 to 50,000 inhabitants. The most important are: in Turkey: Diarbekr, Mardin, Kharput, Malatia, Erzerum, Erzincan, Mush, Van, Bitlis, Khozat, Maden, Jeziret ibn Omar; in Iran: Sanjbulagh, Saqqiz, Sehneh, Kermanshah; in Iraq: Sulaimaniya, Kirkuk, Zakho, Ruwandiz,

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no. 22 dated December
1, 1943.

Koi Sanjak, etc.

Population

No trustworthy attempts have been made either by the Turkish or the Iranian Governments to arrive at an exact census of their Kurdish subjects; any information published by them reflects the tendency to minimize the Kurdish problem. The figures given below are an approximate, but certainly not excessive estimate:

Turkey	3,800,000	Kurds
Iran	3,000,000	"
Iraq	1,000,000	"
Syria	250,000	"
Russia	160,000	"

Total in Kurdistan..... 8,210,000 Kurds

With the exception of small groups beyond the various borders, the population is homogeneous and the minorities are few in number; they can be estimated as follows:

Assyrians	35,000
Syrians	10,000
Chaldeans	5,000
Jews	3,200
Armenians	2,500
Circassians	1,800
Greeks	1,500

Total:59,000

It should be noted that throughout the centuries the Kurds have maintained good relations with their Christian neighbours, closely co-operating with them in resisting oppressors.

As a result of large-scale deportations by Turks and Persians there are large Kurdish colonies outside Kurdistan, in the heart of Turkey and Persia. These are not included in our estimates.

Race and Language

The Kurds belong by race and language to the Indo-European stock. All attempts made in recent times by Turks, Persians and Arabs to impose their languages upon the Kurds have met with failure. Even in towns the Kurds continue to use their own language at home, except in the most important centres in Turkey, where compulsion has rendered the use of Turkish dominant. The indomitable will of the Kurds to retain their own language is shown by the harshness of the measures taken for its suppression. In Turkey, the use of the Kurdish language is forbidden by law; with the exception of a few Kurdish schools in one region in Iraq, schools in Kurdish villages in that country and in Syria are conducted in Arabic, though the only Arabic-speaking person in the village is the teacher. In four different countries Kurdish children are compelled

to get/

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no. 22 dated December
1, 1943.

to get their education in languages which they will never use in later life.

In Iraq and in Syria, thanks to the presence of the Mandatory Powers, private Kurdish cultural activity is not prohibited. In these countries and in Russia there are several Kurdish publications, among others the periodicals Hawar in Syria and Riya Taze in Russia; these, and about 150 volumes printed during the last 20 years, all make use of the Latin alphabet.

Religion

With the exception of a small number who retain an offshoot of the old Zoroastrian religion (the Yezidis), the Kurds are Mohammedans, mostly of the Sunnite sect. They are pervaded by the old humanitarian principles of their former Zoroastrian belief, many traces of which are left. They are tolerant and in this respect very different from their other Mohammedan neighbours.

Turks, Persians and Arabs demand the assimilation of the Kurds on the ground of similarity of religion. But the actual driving-force in these countries is intolerant nationalism, and their effort forcibly to assimilate the Kurds is gaining momentum with the growth of their chauvinist tendencies.

History

There is evidence in Summerian records that, as far back as 2,000 B.C., Kurdish tribes occupied the heart of Kurdistan. Waging constant war with their powerful neighbours - Babylonians, Mittites and Assyrians - they never submitted for long to any conqueror. They helped Cyrus to conquer Niniveh and Babylon. During the Achaemenian Persian Empire, they enjoyed privileges and were entrusted with the guard of the Zoroastrian temples. Xenophon during his retreat encountered opposition from the Kurds. The Seleucids were successfully resisted and the Kurds were prominent under the Sassanids. Later came the invasions of Arab and Turkish tribes, covering the country with ruins. Saladin the Great, the chivalrous opponent of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, was a Kurd who united most of the Kurdish tribes under his rule. In the 13th century, the Kurds successfully resisted the Mongol invaders.

Modern history sets in with the occupation of Kurdistan by Sultan Selim I, the first Ottoman Caliph, in the realisation of his Pan-Islamic policy. Helped by the Kurdish historian Idris-i-Bidliss, Selim obtained the cooperation of the Kurdish principalities in his successful war against the Persians. This co-operation was later established on a permanent basis by an agreement whereby the Kurdish princes recognised the suzerainty of the Sultan, retaining their sovereign rights within their country. Thenceforward the Kurds participated in all the wars of the Sultans as loyal vassals.

But the evolution of Turkey from a confederation of vassal states under Ottoman leadership into a National

State/

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1, 1943.

State had a fatal repercussion on Turko-Kurdish relations. A gradual infringement of Kurdish rights, at first directed against the Kurdish princes and later, in ever-increasing measure, against the Kurdish nation as a whole, led to the struggle which continues until the present day.

The first phase, the destruction of the sovereign Kurdish principalities, lasted until 1847; that year marked the end of the last Kurdish principality which fell after resisting the Turkish armies for 15 years. Pierce revolts broke out in 1879, in 1886 (repressed by joint Turko-Persian action), in 1889 and in 1913.

After the Young Turk revolution, and still more since the Kemalist regime, the Turks have increased their efforts to assimilate or destroy the Kurdish nation. Furthermore, since 1925, there has been close co-operation between the Turkish and Persian Governments in their policy towards the Kurds. In that year, Kurdish leaders were massacred by the Turks and imprisoned by the Persians. Iraq joined the Turko-Persian convention by the treaty of Saadabad.

The new policy found expression in hitherto unknown measures. In Turkey the complete prohibition of the Kurdish language and large-scale deportations resulted in three insurrections in 1925-28, in 1930 and in 1937-38, which were of such a magnitude that the Turks had to bring whole Army Corps and aircraft into action.

In Iraq oppressive attempts by the Arabs have also led to revolts in recent years.

The International Attitude

The Great War 1914-18 was a period of particular hardship in Turkey, not only to the Kurds who perished en masse in the course of deportations, but also to other minorities which were practically annihilated.

The Allied Powers at the Peace Conference were fully aware that a solution to the Kurdish problem was necessary, and the Kurdish nation was represented by a delegate, General Sherif Pasha.

The Treaty of Sevres

In the treaty of Sevres, which was signed on the 10th of August, 1920, the Great Powers and Turkey recognized the fundamental rights of the Kurdish Nation (Treaty of Sevres, Section III, Kurdistan, Art. 62, 63 and 64). Article 64 recognises the rights of the Turks to constitute an independent nation and their right to unite different parts Kurdistan.

But the stipulations of the Sevres Treaty were never carried into effect.

The Kemalist coup de force was ratified by the Great Powers in the Treaty of Lausanne; an indifferent world

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no. 22 dated December
1, 1943.

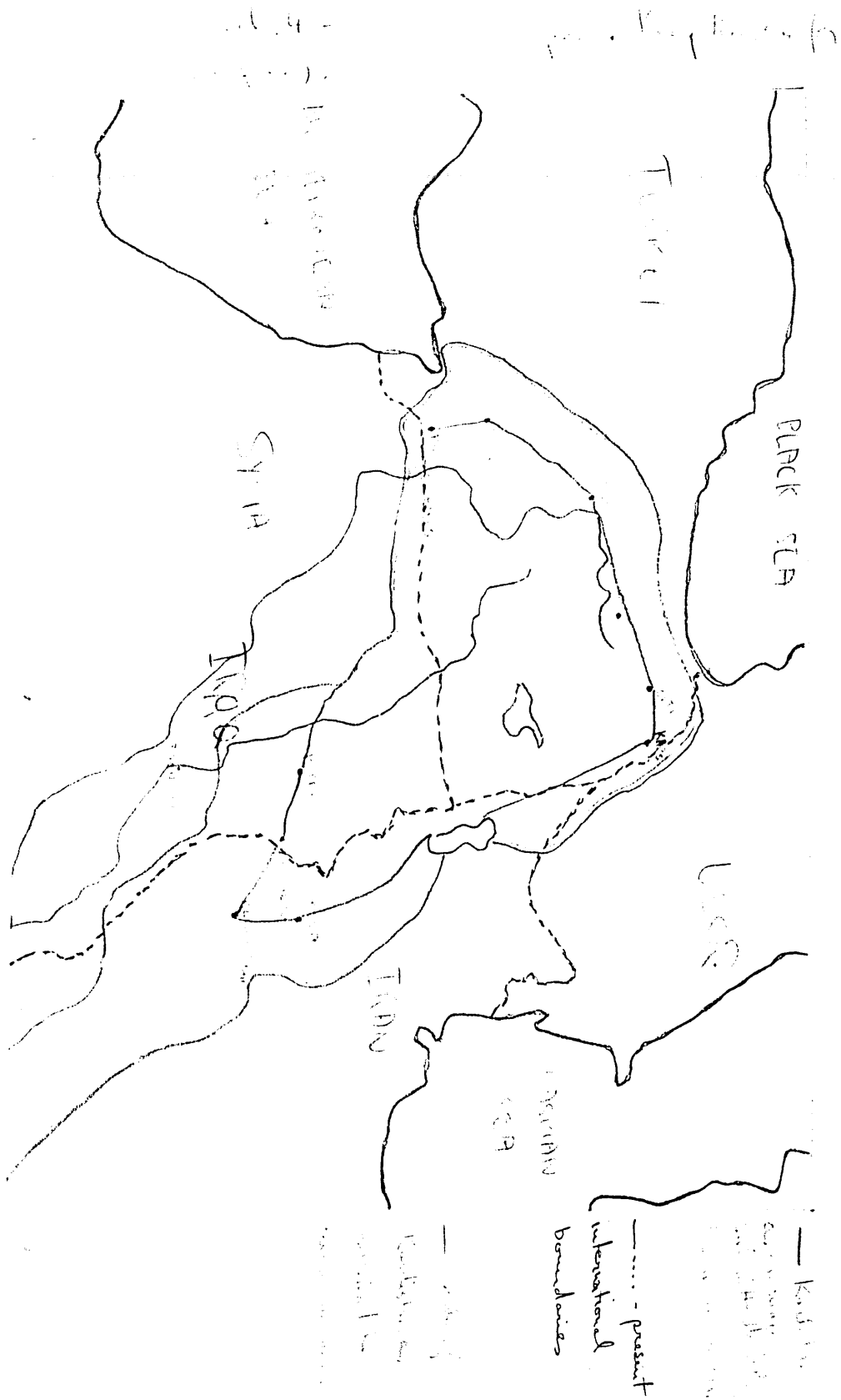
left divided Kurdistan to be the prey of the national-
istic ambitions of Turkey, Persia and the Arabs.

The present position and the future

The continual and increasing pressure brought upon the Kurds during the last 20 years in order to suppress them as a nation has utterly failed. The only result of the efforts to do away with one of the oldest nations in the world has been endless misery, destruction and bloodshed.

After the conclusion of the present world-war, none of the victorious nations can remain indifferent to the establishment of permanent peace in the Middle East. But such peace will not be established as long as a strong, tenacious nation, at one of the most important strategic points of the world, remains the prey of destructive powers, a cause of or a pretext for future conflagrations.

It is difficult to forecast the exact picture of the final form to which the restoration of the Kurd Nation will lead. But the first stage of the said restoration cannot offer less to the Kurdish people than the re-affirmation of rights which were already outlined 20 years ago in the Treaty of Severs. The great democratic powers have failed after the last war to prevent their efforts to restore Kurdish rights from being wiped out by force and political intrigue. Similar failures have forced the Allies to take on arms once again for the cause of Justice. This must unfailingly lead to the permanent redress of one of the most flagrant wrongs witnessed by history, by giving to the Kurds their place among free nations.



Baghdad, December 24, 1943.

Confidential

No. 56

Subject: Transmission of Copies of Ethnographic Map
on Kurdish People.

The Honorable
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward herewith five copies of an ethnographic map showing the areas in the Middle East inhabited by people of Kurdish origin. This map was published in Arabic in Mohammed Ameen Zeki's book, "Outline of the History of Kurds and Kurdistan" (Baghdad 1930), and has been reproduced in English by the Acting Military Attaché of this Legation, who is currently engaged in making a study of Kurdish tribal relationships.

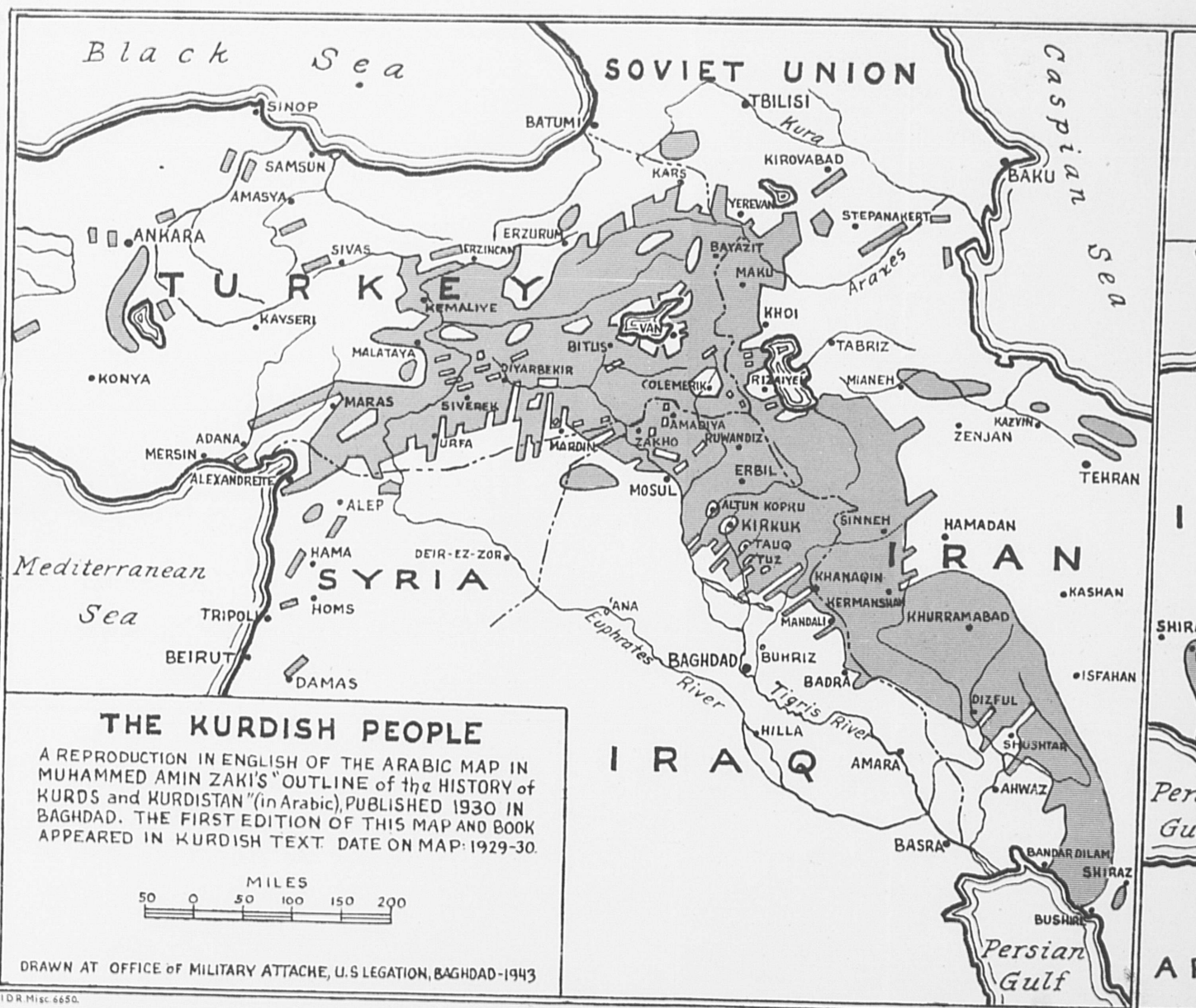
Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

File No. 800
REG:mph

Enclosures:

Five copies of map described.



Baghdad, December 24, 1943.

No. 58

Subject: Transmission of Text in Translation of
Kurdish Nationalist Manifesto to the People
of Iraq.

The Honorable
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch no. 22 of December 1, 1943, forwarding the text in translation of a petition by Kurdish Nationalist students, asking American help to realize an independent Kurdistan, and to enclose herewith a translation of a Kurdish nationalist manifesto addressed in Arabic by "The Headquarters of the Kurdish Leaders" to the people of Iraq. Received by mail by the Legation during the past week, the manifesto has been delivered to prominent British and Iraqi officials by other means: sometimes it has been left in their cars, sometimes slipped under the door, and one British intelligence officer found it posted on the gate to his house.

The manifesto stresses the brotherhood in Islam of Arab and Kurd, and complains of mistreatment of Kurdish districts by the Iraqi central government and by its Arab officials in Kurdistan. It asks that the Mulla Mustafa Barzani troubles be straightened out with justice to the Kurdish rebel leader. "Otherwise this revolutionary move will be the beginning of other revolutionary activities which will certainly bring the country undesirable consequences."

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

File No. 800
REG:mph

Enclosure:

Translation of Kurdish manifesto.

Enclosure to despatch
no. 58 dated December
24, 1943, from the
American Legation, Baghdad

TO THE NOBLE PEOPLE OF IRAQ.

We the supreme leaders of the Kurdish people have ordered the publication of this manifesto for the people of Iraq in view of the mistakes which the administrative authorities have committed in the Kurdish districts, the policy adopted by the executive power, and the consequences which have resulted and will result from that policy.

O Noble People:

For more than one thousand years, the ancient Kurdish and Arab peoples have lived side by side spreading to the world the Word of Islam; calling for growth and development; revolting against the old struggle of paganism; and building in the light of the sublime principles of that Word, a new world whose pillars were based on freedom, justice and equality. While still leading the Islamic world to maturity and perfection and resisting the reactionary currents that were surging from the West, they were afflicted with a great calamity and fell into the abyss of the Ottoman Empire, the core of reaction and the concentration camp of the free peoples of the East.

Upon the cessation of the last Great War, the two peoples established a new, progressive state, motivated by history and religion, on the banks of the two rivers - the present state of Iraq - to restore their ancient glory and renew their common effort in the leadership of modern civilization, attended by peace and amity.

And now, O people of Iraq, after this brief review of the historical relations of the two peoples and of their growth and progress, we wish to warn you of the events which are threatening the country and of the surprises and perils that are in store for it because of the failure of our attempts to draw the attention of those responsible for the Government - particularly now that the world is receding from the ocean of trouble which has been overwhelming it - to stabilize a peace that will be absolutely governed by the laws of social evolution.

The policy which the executive authorities have adopted in Iraq generally and in the northern Kurdish districts specifically is far, indeed, from the principles of the Iraqi Constitutional Law, and opposes all democratic constitutions. It, in fact, is an absolute dictatorship flourishing in the shadow of the Atlantic Charter! The Barzan question - Sheikh Mustafa is one of our beloved personalities - which has been aggravated and reached such a state of danger was, at the beginning, nothing but a personal matter which could have been overcome. But the executive authorities administering the machinery of the state let loose the reigns of government in the hands of some of subtle revolutionaries - who are

your/

your and our enemies, O Arabs - in the Kurdish districts and thus gave them liberty of action to seize the opportunity of playing their part in disuniting these two brotherly peoples, urged by their historical enmity and their Turkoman spirit.

We behold hundreds of innocent and unarmed souls go down as victims to air bombardment and to rifle bullets in consequence of this policy and misadministration. It is regrettable that such brutal deeds should be committed when democracy has reached such a high state of development and strength that it combats barbarism wherever it is found. This is certainly dispiriting and insulting to all of humanity's achievements in its long struggle.

Therefore, be it known to the people of Iraq that the Shaikh Mustafa incident rouses the Kurdish nation which is now indignantly watching these provocative activities on the part of the Iraqi forces. We trust that after this manifesto has been proclaimed the Iraqi nation will cause the leaders of the government to walk in the straight path. Otherwise this revolutionary move will be the beginning of other revolutionary activities which will certainly bring the country undesirable consequences. May Allah be your and our succor.

(Signed)

From the Headquarters of the
Kurdish Leaders.

To:	For:	For:	For:
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Date: January 11, noon

No.:

Received: January 12, 1943.

January 11, 11 a. m.

Personal for the Secretary and Undersecretary.

The heir to the throne of Egypt, Prince Mohammed Ali, has called me to tell me that he and other leaders in the Arab world have recently been disturbed by some American utterances which have emphasized the Jewish aspect of the problem of Palestine, excluding the Arab point of view. H.R.H. went on to say that while there was not any intention to ignore or deny Jewish aspirations or rights, he hoped that the Arab side of the question would receive equal consideration.

It is my understanding that the Iraqi Prime Minister intended to approach you in respect to the above. Therefore, I submit the views of the Prince in the matter.

Repeated to Baghdad and Jerusalem.

Kirk

File no. 800
dcb

PARAPHRASE
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 6, 9 p. m.

No.: Circular

Code: Strip Cipher

Received: March 7, 1943.

The committee which is sponsoring the Proclamation on the Moral Rights of Stateless and Palestine Jews is going to hold a large mass meeting on the 9th of March in New York City. The principal purpose of this meeting will be again to urge that a Jewish Army be formed. It might be well for you to explain, should you have any discussions concerning this meeting, that it is a wholly private undertaking and the mere fact that certain officials and former officials of this Government have consented to have their names used as sponsors does not mean that the meeting has the official approval of the Government of the United States.

Welles
Acting

File no.
dcb

Baghdad, March 9, 1943.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

No. 222

Subject: Conversation with the Prime Minister Concerning
the Formation in the United States of a Jewish
Army.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that this morning I had a conversation with the Prime Minister, Nuri as-Said, during the course of which three subjects were discussed, viz.: (1) the formation in the United States of a Jewish Army, (2) the recent enactment by the Iraq Government of certain legislation having for its purpose the extension to the United States of those tribunal jurisdictional and fiscal privileges now enjoyed by the British under the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance, and (3) the visit to Baghdad of Mr. Skliros of London, Managing Director of the Iraq Petroleum Company.

From the memorandum I have made for the chancery files I am quoting below that part of my conversation with Nuri Pasha which deals with the formation of a Jewish army in the United States:

"I told Nuri something of the contents of Department's circular telegram of March 6, 9 p.m. by which I had been informed of the mass meeting that was to be held in New York today by the Sponsoring Committee of the Proclamation on the Moral Rights of Stateless and Palestine Jews, the main purpose of which is to urge the formation of a Jewish army. I explained to Nuri that this meeting was entirely a private undertaking and that although it was quite possible that former officials--perhaps even certain present officials of my Government might have lent their names as sponsors, nevertheless the meeting did not have the official approval of the United States Government. Nuri was especially pleased to receive these assurances and said that "of course we will stop the publication of any news of the meeting itself in our press", but added that the public would be almost certain to get hold of it through enemy broadcasts and asked if, in order to offset anything of this kind, he could make use of what I had told him. I told him that in the event Axis broadcast sought to distort and make use of reports of this meeting that might prove detrimental to the war effort, I saw no reason why he could not state that he had received assurances from me to the effect that the meeting did not have the official approval of my Government."

Respectfully yours,

T. M. Wilson

File No. 800
T:W:mph

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1943

AIR MAIL

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

No. 49

To the American Minister Resident
and Consul General,
Baghdad.

The Secretary of State encloses for the information
of the Minister Resident a copy of a memorandum of conver-
sation relating to matters affecting Palestine which took
place on March 3, 1943 between Dr. Chaim Weizmann and cer-
tain of his associates and officers of the Department.

Enclosure:

Memorandum of Conversation.

gph

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: March 3, 1943

SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF VIEWS OF ZIONIST LEADERS REGARDING THE
FUTURE STATUS OF PALESTINE

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Chaim Weizmann Mr. Murray
Mr. Moshe Shertok Mr. Ailing
Dr. Nahum Goldmann Mr. Merriam
Mr. Louis Lipsky Mr. Parker

COPIES TO: London, Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut, Baghdad and Jidda

*** 1-1493

Dr. Weizmann, accompanied by Mr. Shertok, Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Lipsky, called to discuss matters relating to the status of Palestine. Mr. Murray initiated the discussion by addressing a few courteous preliminary remarks to Dr. Weizmann, who replied that Mr. Shertok was present in order to express his views concerning the war effort in Palestine with which he, of course, was familiar as head of the political section of the Jewish Agency at Jerusalem. Before inviting Mr. Shertok to express his views Dr. Weizmann remarked that recently American officials, particularly army officers, returning to this country after brief visits to Palestine, have been indulging in clichés about Palestine unfavorable to the Jewish position there without knowing much about the situation and not having been there long enough to have gained a true understanding of the facts.

Mr. Shertok prefaced his remarks by stating that there have been many changes in Palestine since he met Mr. Murray in Jerusalem in 1938. Since that time the White Paper has been promulgated and war has descended upon the world. Mr. Shertok declared that the White Paper and the war effort are in conflict because the White Paper forbids immigration at a time when the war effort calls for the greatest mobilization of existing resources in Palestine. He continued along the following lines:

The

The Jews are not in Palestine by accident; they are there as a result of an organized effort. If the power of the Jewish economic machine is to be harnessed to the war effort it is necessary to cooperate with the Jews in Palestine. In order to effect such cooperation, the Jewish authorities in Palestine are determined to alter the White Paper policy in order to derive the most from Palestine as a contribution to the prosecution of the war.

When the war first started, the Jews of Palestine did not expect the British Government to change the White Paper policy immediately but expected that it would be held in abeyance. This belief was held because Palestine 1) was actually threatened with invasion, 2) is against Hitler, 3) is a part of the progressive world.

Palestine has made great contributions to the war effort. There are 30,000 Palestinian Jews in the military services, 20,000 of them in the Army and others in such organizations as the police. There are, however, only about 8,000 Arabs in all of the British Empire forces. Of the Arabs in the armed forces, about 25 per cent desert and about 25 percent more are dismissed. Desertions and dismissals among the Jews, however, are extremely rare.

In addition to its contributions to the armed forces, the Jewish community of Palestine is turning to industry and to employment of its scientific resources for the benefit of the war effort. There are Jews in war work all over the Near East. Recently the British Army needed some Jews to work in Iraq and took them over the frontier in uniform although they were not military personnel. (Dr. Weizmann remarked that this was "illegal immigration".) Mr. Shertok stated that such action could be condoned as a desperate measure, but he pointed out that the Jews also are waging a desperate struggle for existence. The Jews of Palestine have wondered what it would have been like and what a contribution they could have made if there had been 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 Jews in Palestine instead of only half a million. If the Jews in Palestine had been two or even four or five times as numerous things would have been a lot different. This thought pertains not only to the present but should be projected into the future. What the Jews are doing in Palestine is not an accident; it is the result of a conscious effort. Jews went to Palestine to live there and to earn their living there. Their presence in Palestine has not been the result of the free play of economic forces; it has been the result of governmental decisions that the Jews should go to Palestine.

The

The economic absorptive capacity of Palestine is not finite; it is the human element which is of importance. The important question is whether the Jews need Palestine, not what the capacity of Palestine might be. Although there may be a limit eventually as to the number of Jews that Palestine may absorb, this limit is very far from being approached. What has been done in Palestine to date is merely of an experimental character. For example, there have been experiments in irrigation; however, these experiments have been only of a local character. Recently these experiments have begun to pass, in a few instances, from the local to the regional. However, no attempt has been made as yet to make irrigation projects country-wide. There are great undeveloped water resources in Palestine which need to be harnessed. If the great water power and irrigation projects which have been developed in the United States could have been accomplished, certainly it would be possible to develop similar projects on a much smaller scale in a little country like Palestine. Then there is the industrial development of Palestine. There has been a substantial industrial output, but this, so far, has been primarily for consumption within the country. There are, however, excellent prospects for exporting Palestinian-made goods to neighboring countries. Before the war these neighboring countries imported approximately \$ 200,000,000 worth of goods from nations now our enemies. Probably after the war these enemy countries will not be in a position to resume manufacturing for export immediately. Presumably the United States and the United Kingdom will participate in this trade, but Palestine desires its share as well. There is no reason why Palestine cannot develop a sizeable industry. Technological developments are tending to make areas less dependent upon local raw materials. For example, there are now European diamond cutters in Palestine. There is no reason why diamonds should travel all the way from South Africa to Europe for cutting when there are expert diamond cutters today to work in Palestine. There are in the country as well other skilled artisans, such as watch makers, radio crystal makers and pharmaceutical men.

Mr. Shertok continued by saying that the Jews of Palestine are very well aware that they are confronted with a very serious political difficulty. If Palestine were an empty country, this difficulty would not exist, and the world probably would be content to let Jews settle in Palestine. However, the democratic world entertains doubts as to the expediency of letting Jews settle in Palestine in large numbers

because

because of the presence there of Arabs who do not welcome this development. This political difficulty raises two questions: 1) A question of justice; 2) a question of practicability. The first question, the question of justice, presents a dilemma with the alternatives of being unjust either to the Jews or to the Arabs. There is less injustice to the Arabs involved in awarding Palestine to the Jews than there would be injustice to the Jews in not allowing them to have Palestine. This viewpoint is supported as follows: The Arabs are an undeveloped people. There is plenty of opportunity for them in a developed Palestine which would create employment. Their fears are not justified. If the Italians had invaded Palestine they would have moved all Palestinian Arabs into Syria. Turkey is territorially ambitious too. Iraq went to war principally because it feared that Turkey would demand rectification of the Turko-Iraqi border at the Peace Conference. The Jews in Palestine could help Iraq to develop in order that Iraq would not remain an empty shell. Palestinian Jews could be of assistance to Arabs and to neighboring countries by creating markets and by providing employment. Even now, Iraqis come to Palestine in order to gain scientific knowledge.

Palestine is an Arab country no longer. All Jews feel that the establishment of a large Jewish community in Palestine is essential for the preservation of the race. This is the attitude not only of the Jews of Palestine but of the Jews of all the world. It is necessary, therefore, to bring in as many Jews as possible into Palestine in as short a space of time as possible. The Arabs thus far, according to Mr. Shertok, have accepted the Jews already in Palestine but have objected only to proposals to settle more Jews in the country.

Mr. Murray remarked at this point that this statement did not appear to be quite accurate because each Arab revolt in Palestine may be attributed to an influx of Jews who had actually arrived.

Mr. Shertok admitted that bringing in more Jews would mean a very difficult period indeed. For this reason he contended it is necessary to get over this difficult period as soon as possible by bringing into Palestine large numbers of Jews as quickly as possible.

Mr. Shertok then discussed the possible relationship to each other of Arab countries adjacent to Palestine. Would it

be by union, a federation, by treaties, or by what means? This question Mr. Shertok could not undertake to answer. Personally he does not sympathize with the federation idea because that would depend upon the attitude of neighboring countries. With respect to the Jews, the idea of federation does not involve federation with the Jews already in Palestine; the object is to bring more Jews into Palestine.

Mr. Shertok then proceeded to a discussion of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. He stated that he regards Ibn Saud as the most important Arab alive. However, Ibn Saud does not regard himself as a candidate for an imperial Arab throne. Mr. Shertok stated that he does not consider an Arab empire to be a practical possibility or that Ibn Saud is the man to rule it.

At this point Mr. Alling stated that probably Ibn Saud does not want to rule an Arab empire. Mr. Shertok agreed, adding that Ibn Saud prefers merely to be a man of influence in the Arab world. He might serve as the head of a Pan-Arab union, but he would not make a ruler of an Arab empire.

Mr. Shertok then referred to a suggestion made upon a previous occasion by Dr. Weizmann that a Jewish delegation confer with Ibn Saud in an effort to effect a settlement of Jewish-Arab problems. Mr. Shertok stated that he could not conceive of Ibn Saud's even receiving a Jewish delegation. Such an event would be explosive in character. The entire Arab world would wonder what was taking place. Arabs would come to him from all directions to warn him to desist. However, Mr. Shertok observed that a British or American representative could discuss matters with Ibn Saud without having such conversations advertised or known to others. If the Jewish-Arab question were discussed with him in this manner, Ibn Saud's reaction would be negative, but doubtless his interviewer could interpret the degree of his negative reaction from his manner.

Mr. Murray recalled that, after the Palestine revolt of 1936, a great many people endeavored to persuade Ibn Saud to express his views, but Ibn Saud had said nothing. Then later came Ibn Saud's letter to the President in 1938 in which he took an out-and-out position after a period of two years of silence. Mr. Murray said he wondered why pressure brought upon Ibn Saud previously had proved to be unsuccessful but concluded that Ibn Saud's letter was in anticipation of the

Round Table Conference in London.

Mr. Shertok stated that an Arab federation is an unlikely development because Egypt would not join. However, he added, Egypt might participate in an Arab union if Egypt could be the head of such a union. He expressed agreement with Mr. Murray that Ibn Saud is a man of the desert rather than a potential leader of an Arab empire.

Dr. Weizmann remarked that he would like to say a word about Ibn Saud's letter to the President. He said that he thought that Ibn Saud wrote this letter because "no Arab could afford to speak less loudly than the other" at that time regarding the establishment of a Jewish national home. Dr. Weizmann expressed agreement with Mr. Shertok that it would be premature for him to go to see Ibn Saud.

Returning to the subject of the status of Palestine Dr. Weizmann declared that we should "grasp the nettle". It will be easier, he declared, if the United Nations set up a Jewish Palestine now than it would be if the process were dragged out indefinitely. In this connection he referred to the cession of Alexandretta from Syria to Turkey stating that this created no great furor. He continued by saying that what the Jews have achieved in Palestine has been done in spite of British administration.

Dr. Weizmann declared "I affirm again before you that Palestine will never again be an Arab country." The United States has a moral responsibility with regard to Palestine which it cannot disclaim. The Jews have taken American official attitudes seriously and have spent money on Palestine on this basis. He said, "We will not let you disclaim this responsibility. The Jews will bring moral pressure to bear in order to create a Jewish Palestine." He continued, "As long as the Middle East will be an empty country it will always be coveted. It should be worked and populated."

At this point Mr. Murray observed that the people who have to deal with the Palestine question are faced with practical problems. For example, American diplomatic representatives abroad recently have received a number of protests from various Near Eastern governments with regard to the increasing Jewish influence in Palestine. Invariably, periods of pressure of this kind from Arab governments follow statements made in the United States such as those made recently

with

with regard to the formation of a Jewish army. Irrespective of whether such statements may be right or wrong, they do serve to arouse Arab peoples and to occasion protests. The Axis propaganda machine, of course, uses these statements to its own advantage in attempting to foment discontent and antipathy to the United Nations' cause among the Arab people. As a result, of course, the military situation is affected, in as much as it is essential to have the goodwill and friendship of the populations of Near Eastern countries where United Nations' troops are stationed. Mr. Murray inquired what the callers thought of this aspect of the situation.

Mr. Shertok replied that Zionist leaders are dealing with democracies, which depend upon public opinion to support national policies. There are many questions being raised at this time regarding the predicament of the Jews in Europe. If anything is to be done about this situation, the question must be presented before the forum of public opinion.

Mr. Murray then inquired if questions are not being raised inopportunistically by the issuance of public statements. Dr. Weizmann replied that, in order to raise money, it is necessary to make speeches as a means of securing the support of public opinion. Naturally the Axis hears about some of these things but unfortunately that cannot be helped.

Mr. Murray asked whether American Jews feel strongly on the subject of Zionism. There are, he said, many American Jews who are not pro-Zionist. Dr. Weizmann replied that probably over 90 per cent of Jews in the United States would like to see Palestine rebuilt by the Jews and are incensed by the White Paper policy. Those who disagree with this majority are a powerful but small minority. This minority which is opposed to a Jewish state is afraid of jeopardizing its own position in the United States. Mr. Murray remarked that that is the very point involved -- that there are many Jews in this country who regard themselves as thoroughly American and who do not wish to have their status threatened in any way. Dr. Weizmann then said that the war may end at any time and that the Palestine question is coming to a head. If it were possible to hold a plebiscite in the United States 90 per cent of American Jews would favor the establishment of a Jewish state. Mr. Lipsky remarked at this point that dissenters among American Jews are agreeable to immigration into Palestine but balk only at the use of the term "state" with respect to Palestine. Mr. Murray observed that this attitude toward immigration may

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be attributed largely to sympathy for the predicament of Jews in Europe. Mr. Weizmann then stated that when a man is frightened he is not logical; that it is foolish for American Jews to be afraid that the United States would consider ejecting American Jews and sending them off to Palestine.

At this point the discussion ended and Dr. Weizmann and his associates arose to take their departure. As they were leaving, Mr. Celling asked Mr. Shertok how long he expected to remain in this country. Mr. Shertok replied that he expected "to remain here for the while".

[Handwritten signature]



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April 6. 1943

No. 53

Thomas M. Wilson,

Baghdad.

I transmit for your strictly confidential information a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had with the Egyptian Minister on March 30, 1943, relating to matters concerning European Jewish refugees, together with a copy of note he presented to me at that time pertaining to the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine.

immigration into Palestine.
Very truly yours,


1. Memorandum of conversation.
2. From Egyptian Minister,
March 29, 1943.

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COPIED:NE:RMS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE:
March 30, 1943

SUBJECT: Question of Palestine

PARTICIPANTS: Egyptian Minister, Mahmoud Hassan;
Under Secretary, Mr. Welles

COPIES TO: S, A-B, PA/M, NE

OFF 1-1402

The Egyptian Minister called to see me this morning at his request. He left with me the note attached herewith. The Minister talked at some length along the lines of the communication he was instructed to make. He added the bright thought that a good thing for the United Nations now to do with regard to the Jewish refugees who might be brought out of Europe would be to send a batch of them to each of the United Nations, the number in each batch to be in proportion to the total population of the country to which the group was sent.

I told the Minister that I believed that after the war was won and the principles for which we were fighting in Europe had been established, the overwhelming majority of Jewish refugees would wish to return to their countries of origin, and in that way the grave problem which we had been discussing would in great part be solved. I said it was true in my judgment that a small number, for one reason or another, would wish to seek new homes in other lands, but that I had no reason to believe that the majority of even this small group would desire to proceed to Palestine. I said furthermore that it was the hope of this Government

that

that a solution of the question of Palestine after the war would be brought about through the negotiation of a friendly agreement on the part of the peoples directly concerned.

I said, however, that the immediate problem before us was the appalling situation resulting from the apparent willingness of the Bulgarian Government to give in to German pressure by deporting to Poland the Jews of Bulgaria, and that the immediate question, therefore, was to try to find the way in which this atrocity could be prevented. I said it was not the thought of either the British or United States Governments that these refugees, if they could be extricated, be sent to Palestine. I said that the lack of shipping facilities alone would make such a movement very difficult of accomplishment. I explained to the Minister in general terms the hope we had expressed to the Turkish Government that we might obtain the assistance of the Turkish Government in solving this problem for the duration of the war, with the guarantee that any Jews that were admitted into Turkey would be repatriated at the end of the war.

The Minister seemed to be quite satisfied with the statement I made to him and decidedly apologetic for having had to carry out the instructions communicated to him by his Government.

S. W.

COPIED:NE:RED

ROYAL EGYPTIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 29th, 1943.

Sir,

In continuation to my letter of February 2nd, 1943,
with which I handed Your Excellency an Aide-Memoire in
connection with the question of Palestine, I have the
honour to transmit herewith, acting on the instructions
of my Government, a fresh Memorandum which has a bearing
on the same subject.

Please accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my
highest consideration.

M. HASSAN

The Honourable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Memorandum

The persecution of the Jews by the Axis Powers having been just marked by a recrudescence of arrests and executions in Germany and its satellites, it seems that the governments of Great Britain and the United States of America, accordingly, decided to conjointly take such steps as may remedy the situation, and ask neutral nations to facilitate the migration of thousands of these Jews from Europe.

Whilst sympathizing with this humanitarian action, Egypt, having always taken interest in a fair and equitable settlement of the Palestinian question, wishes to emphasize once again and call for the maintenance of the status quo in Palestine, recommending that the proposed fresh migration of Jews be diverted to lands other than Palestine, better equipped with natural resources and possibilities of production. Besides, it would be contrary to high moral principles, when trying to alleviate the sufferings of the Jews, indigenous inhabitants of Palestine would suffer as a consequence of such process.

Moreover, Palestine is already overpopulated, and a fresh influx of emigrés cannot but tend to accentuate even further an already acute food problem, her possibility for the absorption of fresh arrivals having already surpassed her capacity for such. In fact, the bitter experiences of the immediate past tend to show the unwisdom and perils of a continuation of Jewish immigration into Palestine.

For under whatever guise or pretext such immigration is tolerated and countenanced, such activities cannot but prove detrimental to the Arabs, who have repeatedly and justly complained of the Zionist activities.

At the moment that the United Nations proclaim the necessity of the Arab peoples to unite in evolving and contributing to a new order of civilisation, it would be most unfortunate, indeed, to lose sight of the fact of Palestine seeking to have the question of her independence transcend all other issues.

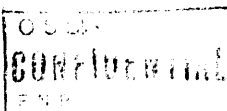
Moreover, all fresh immigration into this land cannot but give rise to troubles and difficulties at a period when the maintenance of peace and tranquility in this part of the world is most essential and indispensable.

Washington, March 29, 1943.

Apr 15 1943

Baghdad

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES
MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Number 118

April 9, 1943

ARAB-AMERICAN POLITICAL REFLECTIONS

Political discussion engaging the attention of the Arabic-language community of the United States during the past two months, although revealing almost complete unanimity on a few questions such as opposition to Zionism and to the project for the formation of a Jewish army, has again demonstrated the underlying political and religious divisions which split this group into factions.

Numbering some 160,000, the Arabic-language community in the United States comprises mainly Arabs of Lebanese and Syrian origin along with much less numerous elements from Palestine and Transjordan, and very small contingents from Iraq, Egypt, and North Africa. Although rather widely dispersed throughout the United States from the East Coast to the West, they have tended to congregate in certain large centers: Boston, Lawrence, Fall River, and Worcester in Massachusetts; New York City; Detroit; Cleveland, Akron, Canton, and Toledo in Ohio; Jacksonville, Florida; Houston, Texas; and Los Angeles. The Lebanese and Syrians are for the most part Christians, the former generally adhering to the Maronite, the latter principally to the Syrian Orthodox Church. (The Maronites are a distinct denomination with their own liturgy but they are in communion with the Roman Catholic Church.) There are also some Moslem Arabs in the United States, and likewise a few representatives of the mystical Druse sect. The following survey touches on the principal subjects of recent political controversy among these elements.

North Africa

Arab-American opinion has been enthusiastic over the liberation of Tripoli from the Italian yoke and from Fascist misrule, but fears have been expressed concerning American policy in North Africa. *Al-Bayan*, Syrian Druse newspaper of Brooklyn which is Pan-Arabic in orientation, has been exercised

over the situation in Algeria and Morocco, arguing (January 30, March 9) that the sacrifices made by the Arabs, the losses they have incurred, and the indirect as well as the active help they have given on a generous scale to the allied cause have been virtually ignored in almost all official and unofficial reports from the North African front.

Commenting on this subject, a well-informed nationalistic Arab-American states:

"Arab opinion in this country and abroad is resentful of the way the North African situation is treated as a purely Franco-American affair, with the native Arab population all but ignored. Arabs regard North Africa as an Arab land and the French as usurpers, and they look forward to the time when they may be rid not only of the Nazi-Fascist threat but also of the French and Spanish. The belief that the United States has guaranteed the restoration of the French Empire does not appeal to the Arabs in North Africa; to them it means the continuation of an abhorrent status quo. North African Arab nationalism has its aspirations. How will these aspirations be treated by the United States, especially when they conflict with the policy of our French allies?"

Turkey Arabs have always been suspicious and alarmed over rumors of secret treaties negotiated by their neighbors. This attitude is reflected in Arab-American comment on the meeting of Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Ismet Inonu of Turkey at Adana. The progressive swing of Turkey toward the side of the United Nations is noted, and the importance of such a development is recognized; but an underlying fear that a deal has been arranged is the cause of some concern to the nationalist as-Sameer of Brooklyn (February 4), which hints that it would like to know, but does not openly ask, at whose expense the alleged understanding has been reached. Comment on the article, obtained from a well-qualified Arab-American source, points out that France made a "deal" with Turkey (confirmed by a treaty of June 23, 1939) for the cession of Alexandretta and that as head of the Turkish state Mustapha Kemal Ataturk before his death expressed a desire to regain Damascus. Thus it is not

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unnatural, this source points out, for the Arabs to be somewhat alarmed over a possible Turkish danger to northern Syria.

Pan-Arabism The aspiration to achieve some sort of Arabic unity in Africa and the Near East after the war is a constant subject of discussion and of disagreement among Arab-Americans. Ardent supporters of Pan-Arabism advocate an economic union of all the Arab states and the political union of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. They generally exclude Saudi Arabia and Egypt because they believe that the first still lags far behind culturally and the second wants to remain a separate nation, unless it can be assured hegemony over the proposed union. Unionist views are strongly presented by *al-Bayan* whenever an occasion offers; and essentially the same attitude is held by the non-separatist Lebanese *al-Islah* of New York. It was *al-Islah* which recently (January 29 and February 5) called for a revival of the Arab National League, the organization voluntarily disbanded in May 1941.

Lebanese Separatists The separatists are the Lebanese Maronites who feel conscious of themselves as a national entity and wish to have an independent republic of their own. Their organ is the daily *al-Hoda* of New York which takes advantage of every opportunity to urge its point of view, often in a challenging and far from conciliatory manner. St. Patrick's Day, for example, was taken by *al-Hoda* (March 17, 19) as an opportunity to compare the Saint of Ireland with St. Maron of Lebanon, and to speak of the Irish and the Maronite nations. Concerning *al-Hoda*, an informed Syrian-American of nationalist sympathies makes the following comment:

"Unwittingly *al-Hoda* offers the best and only explanation for Lebanese separatism when it speaks of the Maronite nation. Fear of religious persecution is the basis of Lebanese separatism. This fear has been fostered by French interests and transformed thereby into a fanaticism. Its influence upon the Arab speaking community here is adverse. Proponents of Lebanese separatism fear Arab movements, and Arab movements regard Lebanese separatism as a tool in the hands of French imperialism. Consequently the Arab-speaking community here is hopelessly divided, and the divisive elements echo in every aspect of the community's life."

An instance of this division may be seen in a minor dispute which broke out recently in connection with the Red Cross campaign. The Greek Orthodox *Meraat-ul-Gharb*, which generally follows a middle-of-the-road policy, in its issue of February 19 dealt approvingly with the effort of the Syrian-American community to raise a substantial fund for the American Red Cross. The project was to be a common effort of the community and thus promote unity. Archbishop Anthony Bashir, head of the Syrian Orthodox Church in America, called on his flock to respond generously and to make contributions in the names of the individual churches. The separatist *al-Hoda* (March 6) took exception to this and insisted that contributions should be offered in the names of their donors, Lebanese if they were Lebanese, Syrians if they were Syrians, etc. Thus a political and divisive note was interjected into what might otherwise have been a peaceful united movement.

The Fighting French

The same disagreement appeared in connection with an episode involving the alleged mistreatment of fifteen Syrian and Lebanese volunteers from the West Indies who had been enrolled in the Fighting French Army for combat in the Near East, but who ultimately found themselves at Fort Dix. The story, with many circumstantial details, was first published in the Syrian Orthodox *as-Sayeh*, a non-political journal of New York (February 8), when action to correct the situation of the men had already been initiated. Subsequently *al-Hoda* took the matter up (February 25), stated that its editor had visited the camp and found the soldiers happy and contented, and charged *as-Sayeh* with making an unwarranted attack on the Fighting French. Two days later *as-Sameer*, Syrian Orthodox newspaper of Brooklyn, reported that the fifteen volunteers had been set free and demobilized. The editor took occasion, however, to direct sharp criticism at the French for their arrogant attitude towards Syrians and Lebanese, remarking: "This is not the first time the French have mistreated Syrian and Lebanese volunteers, since they did the same during the last war." In its issue of March 4 *as-Sayeh* replied to the attack

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of *al-Hoda*, asserting that its original statement was moderate in tone, and making a counter charge which accused *al-Hoda* of placing the interest of France above that of its own people.

An Arab-American of moderate nationalist sentiments appraises the situation as follows:

"The argument is still raging. It is an indication of seething distrust against France, a protest against French policy in Syria and the Lebanon, and an open declaration that Syrian and Lebanese 'patriots' want naught of France.

"Hitherto two Arabic papers (*as-Sayeh* and *as-Sameer*) have expressed themselves openly against French relations with Syrians and Lebanese, and only one, *al-Hoda*, defended the French. There is no telling when this incident will be closed. It has done more to alienate Syrian and Lebanese opinion from France than anything else in recent months. Syrians in particular have been skeptical about French good faith. Now they have no doubts about French bad faith. To their long list of grievances they have now added another, and it is seized upon to air Syrian and Lebanese sentiment against France."

Another factor disturbing Arab-French relations is the difficult economic situation now prevailing in Syria and the Lebanon. Money is plentiful, but prices are high, food and other materials of prime necessity are scarce, shortages of supplies in the open markets are constantly noted, while black markets flourish. *Al-Hoda* (February 4, 18) has called attention to this problem, and there is talk of organizing a committee to raise funds for relief, but disagreement as to the method to be followed has arisen. Some Arab-Americans believe that only organized relief, along the lines of the Near East Relief after the last war, can be effective, while others insist that individual relief will be adequate, each person here helping his relatives abroad. The advocates of individual relief are mainly the pro-French Lebanese Maronites with separatist leanings, while those favoring an organized effort, believed to be the majority of the community, are the Arab nationalists, Greek Orthodox Syrians for the most part, who hold the French authorities responsible for the present inflation in the Near East.

Reports of distress and famine in the Hejaz, the cradle of Islam, have now aroused the interest and sympathy also of the Moslem community, as evidenced in the March 13 and 18 issues of *al-Bayan*. This paper has named a committee to raise funds, with the publisher of *al-Bayan* as its treasurer.

Commenting on this news an Arab-American of moderate nationalist views says:

"The activities of this committee will probably go beyond philanthropy. It aims at welding Arab opinion more closely together, in order to face the post-war problems that are destined to confront the Near East. Frankly the committee hopes to awaken Arab opinion here to the spiritual importance of the Hejaz not only in the Moslem world but also in the Arab world. For inspiration Arab nationalism and Pan-Arabism always turn their eyes to the cradle of Islam, the Hejaz."

Anti-Zionism One great problem on which almost all Arab-Americans without exception see eye to eye and toward which they are able to present a solid united front is the problem of Zionism. As explained by an Arab-American commentator, the hostility of the dissolved Arab National League to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was representative of the position of an overwhelming majority of the Arabs in the United States.

"The Arab National League," our commentator continues, "was disbanded by the action of its own standing committee in May 1941, six months before Pearl Harbor. The action was taken and the State Department was informed that the step was taken in order to avoid embarrassing Great Britain in its great struggle for the survival of free institutions. Many among the Arabs had hoped to set an example for the Zionists. But with continued and increased Zionist agitation, the feeling spread that something had to be done to inform American public opinion. Iraq's entry into the war on the side of the United Nations removed the fear felt by Arab leadership here of being misunderstood or deliberately misrepresented and accused of pro-Axis

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activity. The crux of the matter is that Arab opinion here and abroad is uneasy about the effect of Zionist agitation. Furthermore, Zionism is an issue on which all Arab factions agree -- all being hostile. Arab opinion expects the liquidation of political Zionism, and would insist upon Iraq's offices in this matter. No settlement which would countenance political Zionism in Palestine has any chance of being accepted by the Arabs."

Expressing a growing feeling of alarm in the face of systematic widespread Zionist propaganda, *al-Islah*, Lebanese but non-separatist, called (January 29) for a revival of the Arab National League. The call was repeated in the issues of February 5 and 16, with an urgent appeal to the Arabic-speaking community in the United States to organize in order to counteract Zionist propaganda. The arrival in this country of Moses Shertok, Zionist leader in Palestine, and his published statement that Palestine should house two million more Jews evoked on February 26, a sharp, sarcastic editorial in the normally moderate *Neraat-ul-Gharb*, which had already issued on February 24, under the caption "Wake Up Ye Arabs," an appeal to Arab-Americans for union and organization to combat Zionist aims. The support given to Zionism by members of Congress and United States Government officials has contributed to an increase of Arab alarm and anxiety both in this country and abroad. Axis propaganda has lost no time in spreading the news to the Arab world in the Middle East that the adherence of American officials to the Zionist cause meant official support of Zionism by the United States Government. The fervently nationalistic *al-Bayan* entered the arena on February 25 with a vigorous denunciation of foreign rule, mandates, and all forms of imperialism, and an urgent exhortation for closer cooperation among the Arabs in the post-war period. This appeal was directed to the Arabs themselves to work out their own salvation; reference to the Atlantic Charter was conspicuously absent.

Anticipating the Zionist mass meeting in New York City on March 10, *al-Bayan* continued its crusade on March 5 with a vigorous condemnation of Zionism and Zionist aspirations in

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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Palestine, urging all the Arabs in this country to organize and to send telegrams of protest against Zionism to the authorities in Washington.

Advertisements appearing in the metropolitan newspapers on behalf of Zionism and the Jewish army incited the literary *as-Sayeh*, to take up the fight for Arab rights. A strongly worded article in the March 8 issue argued that Zionist claims were irreconcilable with the principles for which the United Nations were fighting this war, since they clearly violated the rights of self-determination and constituted a direct aggression against the native population of Palestine. On March 15, *as-Sayeh* asserted that Zionist propaganda had failed in Britain and was now being disseminated in the United States; it declared that the Zionists by their continued propaganda were already sowing the seeds of another war.

From a trustworthy source it is learned that published expressions of sentiment fall far short of representing the formidable volume of such feelings now stirring the Arab-American community from one end of the United States to the other. The question has become a vital and paramount issue on which Arab-Americans form a united front, forgetting most of their differences and disagreements on other matters. A summary of the present state of the problem, obtained from the source already cited, is worth quoting:

"Arab opinion here believes that if the Arabs have desisted for the duration from agitation against British policies in Palestine, the Zionists should at least do the same. Furthermore, Arab opinion here and elsewhere is opposed to any Zionist scheme. They see Zionism infringing on the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. In the minds of the Arabs here and abroad the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter mean self-determination, if they mean anything at all. Incidentally, the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are our best selling points throughout the Arab world. Espousing Zionist aims would nullify their influence among these peoples."

Support of the War Effort This survey of political problems about which the Arab-American community is concerned cannot be concluded without reference to the fact that the

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April 9, 1943

war effort of the United States has received and is receiving the whole-hearted, unreserved support of all groups and factions alike. The situation has been described by a loyal and clear-sighted Arab-American as follows:

"There is hardly a Syrian-American home which has not already given one or more sons to the armed forces. Many have already lost their sons in the war. This has resulted in increased loyalty and in the feeling that every Syrian home has a part in this war. Sacrifice has made the way more meaningful to the Syrian-Americans. They are therefore more enthusiastic and united behind the war effort. In fact these sacrifices might yet unite all the factions. There would be no more Syrians or Lebanese, but only Americans of Syrian and Lebanese descent."

No. 108

Jidda, Saudi Arabia, May 6, 1943

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: King Ibn Saud's Attitude toward a
Zionist Solution in Palestine.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's strictly confidential instruction no. 36 dated March 20, 1943 with which was transmitted a memorandum of a conversation relating to Palestine between Dr. Chaim Weizmann and certain of his associates and officers of the Department.

In the past there have been three great bases for Ibn Saud's policies: firstly, his religion; secondly, his Arabism; and thirdly, his friendship with the British Government. Of the three the first has always been dominant and in the event of any conflict with the third factor of friendship with the British Government, the religious motif would undoubtedly prevail. Aside from the religious convictions of Ibn Saud which would prevent him from ever agreeing to Palestine becoming a Jewish state, practical considerations of his position in his own country would bar acceptance of any such plan. In the larger sphere of the Arab world any indication that he was willing to consider a scheme which would place an Arab state under Jewish control would be sufficient to seriously weaken or destroy his prestige. This Ibn Saud fully realizes and quite apart from considerations of his own prestige he undoubtedly feels most sincerely his responsibilities to the Arab world as an Arab leader.

There is little likelihood that Ibn Saud under any circumstances would receive a Jewish delegation such as that mentioned in the memorandum under reference. His reaction could conceivably vary from a flat refusal to a suggestion that anything which Jewish leaders might wish to tell him should be transmitted through regular diplomatic channels. In no case could it be expected that the King's position would be altered by any communications addressed to him by the Zionists. His stand was taken in the letter of November 1938 addressed to President Roosevelt and as reported in my telegram no. 40 dated May 3, 7 p.m., this exposition of Ibn Saud's views will shortly be reiterated in a second letter to the President.

In this connection the statement made by Dr. Weizmann that Ibn Saud had written the 1938 letter because "no Arab could afford to speak less loudly than the other" at that time regarding the establishment of a Jewish national home is true only so far as it relates to the timing of the letter. The same comment might be made at the present

time

- 2 -

time when Ibn Saud is sending a second letter on the subject of Palestine to the President. Now the voices of many Arab leaders are being raised with various proposals and counter proposals and the King no doubt feels that he should also make some use of his influence in the cause of Arabism. There is no question now, or was there previously, of Ibn Saud's sincere interest in the Arab position in Palestine.

Respectfully yours,

J. Harold Shullaw
Chargé d'affaires ad interim

To Department in triplicate.

Copies to Legations in Cairo and Baghdad.

~~890~~ 846.1

JHS/cjm

No. 112

Jidda, Saudi Arabia, May 15, 1943

Subject: Ibn Saud, Zionism and Pan-Arab Aspirations.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to strictly confidential despatch no. 218 dated March 8, 1943 from the Legation in Baghdad and to furnish the Department with certain observations relating to the Saudi Arabian angle of the despatch under reference.

IBN SAUD has in the past been averse to the use of propaganda preferring direct negotiation and considering publicity of questionable value. Recently, however, the concern of the King over Zionist activities in the United States and possibly the representations of Nouri SAID on the subject of Pan Arab propaganda, have caused him to become more interested in publicity possibilities. Certain of my British colleagues in Jidda have several times expressed the belief that the Arabs are in error in not propagandizing their cause more actively in the United States. It is my understanding that they have conveyed these sentiments to Shaikh Yusuf YASSIN in the course of conversations on Arab aspirations.

Yusuf Yassin is convinced of the advisability of the Arabs presenting their case before the American public and there have been a number of incidents in recent months indicating that his mind is actively engaged with such projects. During the visit to Saudi Arabia of the two LIFE correspondents in February of this year, Shaikh Yusuf spoke to the British Legation and to the correspondents about the possibility of including in their proposed article on Saudi Arabia something on the Arab position in Palestine. His avowed object was to gain publicity for Arab views on the problem of Palestine. Later as reported in my telegram number 38, April 27, 8 p.m. Shaikh Yusuf mentioned the possibility of having copies of Ibn Saud's 1938 letter to President Roosevelt printed for distribution in the United States. The despatch of the second letter of the King to the President may very well lead to a request for publication. Saudi Arabia's potentialities in the field of propaganda are very limited because of the lack of men with a knowledge of English who could be sent abroad to direct publicity work.

With regard to the visit of the Saudi Arab Chargé in Baghdad to Riyadh several months ago, it is believed that Ibn Saud wished to be in a position to check the statements made by the newly designated Iraqi Minister, Jamil PASHA, against the information which his own

Chargé

- 2 -

Chargé could give him. For this reason the Saudi Chargé's presence was considered worthwhile. The Chargé as previously reported, returned to Baghdad as a Minister. Considering Nouri Said's omission of mention of Transjordan in his conversations with the Saudi Chargé concerning the proposed union of Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon, Ibn Saud might well consider a check on any proposals made by Nouri through his own Minister worthwhile. In any case, after his recent trip to Riyadh, Shaikh Yusuf told me with some asperity that Nouri Said was a liar in whom the Arabs could have no trust. Again on this occasion he reiterated his belief that the people of Iraq had more confidence in Ibn Saud than in their own rulers.

Respectfully yours,

J. Harold Shullaw
Chargé d'affaires ad interim

To Department in triplicate.

Copies to Legations at Cairo and Baghdad. ✓

800 5001/711

JHS/ojm

Baghdad, May 20, 1943.

No. 305

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: Shafiq HADDAD Gives Legation Memorandum
on Conversation with Moise SHERTOK Last
Year on Palestine Question.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's instruction no. 49 of March 20, 1943, transmitting a memorandum of a conversation relating to Palestine which took place on March 3, 1943, between Dr. Chaim WEIZMANN, Mr. Moise Shertok and certain other Zionist leaders and officers of the Department.

The Legation has obtained from Shafiq Haddad, Iraqi Military Attaché-designate at Washington, privately and confidentially a statement regarding a talk which Mr. Haddad had with Mr. Moise Shertok at Jerusalem in May 1942. This statement is forwarded as an enclosure herewith for the Department's information, not only to show how far Mr. Shertok's attitude apparently changed in the ten months between talking with Mr. Haddad and appearing at the Department, but also to indicate Mr. Haddad's own views on the Arab-Jewish conflict of interests in the Levant. Mr. Haddad himself is the author of the memorandum, Mr. Shertok is referred to as S. and the British Ambassador at Baghdad, Sir Kinahan CONNELLIS, is mentioned as H.E. (for His Excellency).

Mr. Haddad now states frankly that his mission in the United States is primarily to work in the interests of Arab unification, although he asserts that neither he nor Dr. Fadhil JAMALI, the Counsellor-designate of the Iraqi Legation at Washington and another propagandist for the Arab cause have been given any written instructions, either regarding their Government's policy on Pan-Arabism or concerning their own activities in the United States. He says also that he has discussed his talk with Mr. Shertok only with the British Ambassador. At the time the Ambassador stated that he would inform the Minister of State at Cairo regarding it, in an effort to ascertain his own Government's attitude toward such proposals as were made, but the deteriorating British military situation of the summer months of 1942, culminating in Rommel's advance to El Alamein, evidently prevented any consideration of the proposals.

The Department

-2-

The Department will note the suggestion of the name of Emir Zeid, half-brother of the late King Feisal of Iraq, as sovereign of the proposed Syro-Palestinian state. Revised Confidential Biographic Data on Emir Zeid is forwarded concurrently with this despatch.

Respectfully yours,

Thomas M. Wilson

File no. 800-87111
REG/dob

Enclosure:
Copy of memorandum, as stated.

12/15

To the Department in original and hectograph.
Copies to:
American Legation, Beirut.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.

(COPY)

Enclosure to despatch no. 305 of May 20, 1943 from
American Legation, Baghdad.

CONFIDENTIAL

1. The writer met S. early in May, 1942, through a mutual friend. The meeting took place at S.'s house and lasted from about 4.15 p. m. to nearly 6.15 p. m. After preliminary discussions on the merits of political promises and documents, certain basic agreement was reached fairly quickly owing to the frank attitude of both parties. Opinion was agreed on the following points -

- (a) Promises and agreements made under stress during World War I, have often been overlooked or greatly modified at the Versailles Conference and later during the period of political settlement which really stretched into the beginning of this war.
- (b) The Zionist Jews had through their efficient organisation and almost unlimited flow of funds, established and developed certain economic units in Palestine which no one can overlook or deny them the right thus acquired for the protection of their vested interests and communal wellbeing.
- (c) The remarkable powerful development of Arab Nationalism through the Arab countries notwithstanding the tremendous political and economic barriers which were set up by France and Great Britain in an endeavour to carry out a policy of compromise which would satisfy various shades of imperialistic opinion in their home countries, the principles of the League of Nations, the tax payer, and the fulfilment of the promises made to the Arabs under King Hussein.
- (d) That Palestine is no solution to the Jewish National Problem.
- (e) That in a world where freedom is secure, Palestine will only be visited by Jews whose religious conviction will lead them to sacrifice a comfortable standard of living for pioneering life in Palestine.

2. With the above points as a fundamental understanding, the existing situation was then surveyed politically, psychologically and administratively and it was found that -

- (a) Certain political circumstances were not dissimilar to those prevailing when the late King Faisal I (then Amir Faisal) reached an agreement with Dr. Chaim Weizmann. Points of comparison: the French in the Lebanon and Syria and the desire of the Zionists to extend their economic activities into Syria.
- (b) The usual political turmoil that prevails at a peace conference and consequent multiplication of issues which usually succeed in overshadowing the main issue. This together with the usual apathy that follows great exertion and consequent withdrawal of certain war services before an efficient civil service has been firmly established, have led S. and the writer to the conclusion that -
- (c) The time had come for the moderates among the Arabs and Jews to investigate to the full all possibilities of a mutual understanding based on popular wishes and desires of the people so as to

revive

revive the spirit of the Faisal-Weizmann Agreement of January, 1919.

3. S. and the writer then speculated purely as private individuals on what would be acceptable to Arabs and Jews and the following conditions were reached -

- (a) Syria and Palestine to form one economic unit.
- (b) Jews to have certain districts in Syria opened to them for economic development against which they will recognise allegiance to an Arab King over the united two states. Several personalities were mentioned and for the time being the Amir Zaid, half brother of the late King Faisal, was found most suitable owing to his modern education (Oxford 1926/7) and his broad point of view.
- (c) Immigration to be mutually agreed upon on the basis of a certain number spread over a period of years.
- (d) Special privileges to municipalities where Jews are in a large majority. Those municipalities will have their own police force and magistrates with American and British Liaison Officers between Arab and Jewish police forces. These Officers will also serve for purposes of training and controlling.
- (e) A freely elected house of representatives to which the cabinet will be responsible.
- (f) The whole arrangement to be under the guarantee of the U.S.A. and Great Britain whose representatives will have the right to veto any measure adopted by parliament which may directly affect any of the minorities.

4.

- (a) S. and the writer agreed that it was essential to secure the agreement of the British Government in principle to the above programme before submitting and canvassing the proposition to their respective parties. S. was to approach British representatives in Jerusalem and Cairo and the writer the British Authorities in Iraq.
- (b) The Position of Transjordan was examined and it was agreed that it would be neither fair nor politic to include that state in any scheme that would curtail the power or interests of the Amir Abdallah. His position is to be respected in view of the ~~xxxx~~ praise-worthy efforts he has made during this war. On the other hand, no matter how suitable his personality may be in ruling and administering desert tribes, it would be unappreciated among the inhabitants of Palestine and Syria who, as a whole, are much more inclined towards modern standards.
- (c) The Lebanon was also touched upon and its various religious, political and economic problems were examined. It was found that the special problem of the Lebanon placed it in a similar situation as Transjordan as far as the proposed Syrian-Palestine Administrative Union is concerned.
- (d) Both the states of the Transjordan and the Lebanon were assumed by S. and the writer to join the Palestine-Syrian Union in an economic federation provided that such a federation would not interfere in any way with the full sovereignty of these two states and in the case of the Lebanon

whatever

whatever autonomous rights it enjoyed during the Turkish Empire, should be brought under the joint guarantee of the U.S.A. and Great Britain so that by joining assurance and confidence to the Christian section of the population, a greater measure of co-operation with the other Arab states would be possible.

5.

(a) About a fortnight after the above meeting took place, the writer submitted his conversation with S. to H.E. in Baghdad and pressed the urgency of establishing a constructive policy right now as the existing war services (Intelligence, propaganda, Military Privileges, Secret Funds, etc, etc) were fully developed and capable of interpreting any fair and practical solution to the advantages of the inhabitants of the countries concerned and to gauge the real desires of the people. Moreover, for reasons of security, it would be fairly easy to remove from the scene those professional politicians, of which Damascus abounds, who would obstruct any solution to further their personal interest.

(b) H.E.'s personal reaction was favorable and expressed the opinion that the matter was important enough to submit to the Minister of State in Cairo.

(c) Unfortunately, events of more immediate importance occurred shortly after, and the writer never heard anything further on the subject, nor does the writer know, if S. was able to secure an opinion from the British Government at his end.

(d) The facts remain that S. is now working for a policy that was never suggested or discussed during the meeting mentioned above. The force with which S. is canvassing in the U.S.A. the present Zionist policy leads the writer to believe that either S. was grossly insincere in his meeting with him or exasperated by the British indifferent attitude to the sincerest and most beneficial compromise that was ever attempted between Arabs and Jews.

Baghdad, June 12, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. 340

Subject: Comment on Paper Received by the Department
from a Private Source Relating to Current
Political Developments in the Near East.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the Department's instruction no. 64 of May 8, 1943, forwarding a copy of a paper received by the Department from a private source relating to the current political situation in the Near East. The Legation's comments on the subject matter of this paper are requested.

This paper contains in resumé substantially the same material which has been reported at length by this Legation over the period of the past six months. Nuri Pasha's memorandum to the Minister of State, Mr. Casey, at Cairo was transmitted with the Legation's despatch no. 173 of February 2, 1943, while despatch no. 171 of the same day reported Nuri's approach to Ibn Saud on the subject of Zionism. The Legation's despatch no. 218 of March 8, 1943, dealt exhaustively with Nuri's dealings with Ibn Saud on the questions of Zionism, of Arab federation, and of the necessity of setting up an Arab propaganda center in the United States. Various other recent despatches (Nos. 116 of December 16, 1942, 221 of March 10, 1943, 249 of March 24, 1943, and 309 of May 21, 1943, as well as Confidential Biographic Data dated February 19, 1943 on Shafik Haddad, May 24, 1943, on Doctor Fadhil Jamali, May 26, 1943, on Judge H. I. Lloyd, and May 26, 1943, on Miss Freya Stark) have dealt with individuals who will have a part in the Arab propaganda effort in the United States. The Jidda Legation's despatches no. 93 of March 5, 1943, no. 104 of April 27, 1943, and no. 112 of May 15, 1943, tie in with the subject matter of this Legation's despatches referred to above.

With regard to Ibn Saud's displeasure at Mr. Wendell Willkie's friendly manner toward Nuri Pasha and Iraq, the cause for this was reported in the Legation's despatch no. 218 of March 8, 1943, as being Mr. Willkie's reference in January, 1943, in a telegram of congratulation on Iraq's entry into the war to Nuri's "fine leadership of the Arab world" and Nuri's reply, "We know that in you the Arabs have a firm friend who will see that they secure independence and unity in the peace settlement." The Legation has reported time and again

that/

that the exponents in Baghdad of Arab federation consider that one of its most advantageous features would be the opportunity for presenting a united diplomatic front and for being represented at the Peace Conference as a single powerful bloc rather than as unitary small states. The fact that Nuri Pasha and the Iraqi Pan-Arabs are taking such active leadership in the move for federation, in the event of its successful fruition, would be expected to put them in the position of being likely spokesmen for the federation at the Conference.

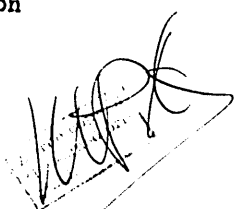
Here at Baghdad there has been rising Government concern at the effectiveness of Zionist propaganda in the United States, and local people friendly to the United States have begun to repeat what the Axis radio broadcasts have been saying for months: that Britain and America are taking opposing sides in the Palestinian question, Britain with the Arabs and America with the Jews, and that the British are fostering the move for a British-guided Arab federation because it is the only way they see of saving their hegemony in this area from the onslaught of the empire-hungry Americans.

As seen from Baghdad the evidence is less that the British deliberately wish to foster Arab federation than that they wish to prevent too vigorous a flowering of Zionism. Many of the leading British in this area have become sentimentally attached to the Arab and his cause during their years of residence here. Like the Americans, they feel sympathy for the under-dog, and resent the aggressiveness of the Zionists. They naturally tend, therefore, to interest themselves in projects for strengthening the Arab hand, and they favor such moves as the setting up of an Arab information center at Washington. As the Legation has already reported (Confidential Biographic Data of May 26, 1943) Miss Freya Stark, who is to tour the United States in the Fall on behalf of the Arabs, is going at the expense and under the aegis of the British Ministry of Information, and it is not unlikely that other British friends of the Arab cause will be sent from the Middle East on like missions.

Respectfully yours,

T. M. Wilson

File No. 400 777
RMC:mph



To the Department in Original and Hectograph.

No. 138

Jidda, Saudi Arabia, June 26, 1943

Subject: Paper with Regard to Arab National Aspirations Obtained by the Department from Private Sources.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's Strictly Confidential Instruction no. 45 dated May 8, 1943, asking this Legation to comment on a paper relating to the current political situation in the Near East, obtained by the Department from a private source.

Information in the possession of this mission tends to show that the paper is essentially correct. The memorandum of Nuri FASHA delivered to Mr. Casey, British Minister of State in Cairo, Nuri Fasha's approach to King IBN SAUD, and Iraqi solicitude for American public opinion, have been reported from the Legation in Baghdad (Strictly Confidential Despatch no. 340 dated Baghdad June 12, 1943 et ante). The reference to the British Minister in Jidda in sections II and III of the paper cited obviously apply to Mr. T. Wikeley, British Chargé d'affaires in Jidda, since there has been no British Minister here since the month of December 1942. Despatch no. 104, April 27, 1943, from this Legation, mentioned the message of King Ibn Saud to the local British Legation, and the King's message as described in the paper indicates an attitude similar to that reported in telegram no. 723 dated Cairo, April 17, 1943, 10 a.m.

The views attributed in Section III of the paper to the British Government with regard to the desirability of publicizing the Arab point of view in the United States correspond closely to the views expressed to members of this Legation by the British Chargé d'affaires. On several occasions, Mr. Wikeley has expressed fear that Zionist propaganda in the United States may, if no counter measures are taken, result in American support for Zionist plans at the peace conference following the present war. In his opinion, it would be useful for the Arabs, meaning thereby the Saudi Arabs, to set up a publicity organization of their own to present Arab claims to the American public.

Mr. Wikeley has expressed similar views to Shaikh YUSUF YASSIN, and Shaikh Yusuf agrees enthusiastically. It is not known whether Shaikh Yusuf adopted the opinion of Mr. Wikeley or of others, or whether he developed the same ideas independently. At any rate, it was a congenial subject for Shaikh Yusuf, who some years ago was forced to leave Syria because of his Arab nationalist activities, and

who

who was at one time jailed by the British authorities in Palestine for the same reason. Mr. Mikeloy has even suggested informally to Shaikh Yusuf that the latter might go to the United States to direct the Arab publicity campaign. Shaikh Yusuf has for some time represented the Saudi Arab Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jidda, and in that capacity has caused what seemed to be needless difficulties for diplomatic missions established here, particularly for the British. The suggestion that Shaikh Yusuf should go to the United States may, therefore, have a purpose that does not show on the surface.

The King, likewise, is a convert to the belief that suitable publicity in the United States would be beneficial to the Arabs. The subject has come up in several conversations between members of this Legation and Shaikh Yusuf Yassin, and with Amir FAISAL (Despatch no. 125 dated June 7, 1943).

The essential facts of Nuri Pasha's plan, and the reaction which it produced in Saudi Arabia seem to be fairly clear; but since they have been reported piecemeal, it might be well to summarize the development of the present situation.

1. Early in the present year, Nuri Pasha submitted to the British Minister of State in Cairo a memorandum outlining conditions for the organization of an Arab state of Syria (to include Palestine) and for an Arab confederation at the end of the war, composed of the enlarged Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and perhaps eventually other Arab and pseudo-Arab states.

2. About the same time, Nuri Pasha approached the Saudi Legation in Baghdad with his plans. One of the points which he made was the danger that Zionist propaganda, if unchecked, might cause American public opinion, and consequently the American Government, to support Zionist claims at the end of the war, to the detriment of Arab rights. Nuri Pasha therefore suggested to King Ibn Saud a publicity campaign to present the Arab point of view to the American public, and so to counteract Zionist influence.

3. King Ibn Saud, while sympathetic with any aims calculated to enhance the Arab position in the world, distrusted both Nuri Pasha and the ruling house in Iraq. The declarations of Mahas Pasha and Amir Abdullah of Transjordan tended to confirm the suspicion of King Ibn Saud that aggrandizement of the political fortunes of the Hashimite family is at least one of Nuri Pasha's aims.

4. About this time, King Ibn Saud, who theretofore had ignored the possibilities of publicity abroad, began to show solicitude for the opinion of the American public. This might be a specific application, aroused by Nuri Pasha's suggestion, of a more general feeling on the part of the King that his inactivity and silence toward Arab aspirations might later on be attributed by Nuri Pasha and others prominent in the Arab movement, to negligence or indifference, thus prejudicing the position of the King. Whatever his reasoning, the King has now become a convert to the doctrine that suitable publicity in the United States can only be beneficial to the Arab cause.

He has

He has granted an interview to one American journalist, delivering to the journalist a statement of his views with regard to Palestine; he has considered a request for an interview received from another American reporter solely on the ground that granting or refusing the interview might be good or bad publicity in the United States; he has expressed a desire to publish and circulate in the United States copies of his exchange of letters with the President in 1938 on the subject of Palestine; and Shaikh Yusuf Yassin has indicated that the King may also desire to publish the letter which he wrote to the President in May 1943, as well as the President's reply.

It will be noted that although King Ibn Saud approves suitable publicity in the United States for Arab aims, there has been no indication that he intends to cooperate in any way with Iraqi or other groups.

5. Shaikh Yusuf Yassin is now in Riyadh, and one of the subjects which he intended, at the time of his departure from Jidda, to discuss with the King was the advisability, kind, and extent of Arab publicity for the American public.

6. The British Legation in Jidda has encouraged the King to embark on a publicity campaign in the United States, and apparently the British authorities in Iraq have done likewise, even to the extent of providing Miss Freya Stark as a lecturer. Further, it is unlikely that Nuri Pasha brought the subject up with King Ibn Saud without the knowledge and at least the acquiescence of the British. It must be something of a relief to the British to find the Arabs conceiving the United States as the potential sponsor of the Zionists. By comparison, the British may appear to the Arabs as pro-Arab.

Respectfully yours,

James S. Moose, Jr.
Chargé d'affaires ad interim

To the Department in original only.

Copy to the American Legation in Cairo and Baghdad.

800-1000

JSM/ojm

Paraphrase

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: Amlegation, Cairo

Date: July 24, 12 noon

No.:

Code: Strip

Received: July 25, 8 a.m.

Most Immediate

Department's No. 969 dated July 22, 3 p.m.
to Cairo follows:

Secret for the Minister.

The Department proposes to issue on July 27,
1943, 12 noon, the statement which follows and
shall advise you later of the actual issuance
thereof.

Sections two and three of this message will
be found in Department's 970 and 971.

Kirk

Filr No. 800
MPH/-

840.1 - Zivion

TO	FOR	FOR	FOR
ACT	INFO	INFO	INFO
MIN.	✓		✓
ENG.			✓
REG.			16
INF.			
NO. 15-1100			
OLIA			
OWI			
WPA			
WPA			

Date: July 23, 7 p.m.

Code: **Brown**

Received: July 23, 1943

Governments of the of
 "The/United States and/the United Kingdom having in
 mind the terms of the United Nations declaration of
 January 1, 1942, are agreed that while public discussions
 on controversial international questions are in general
 desirable in order to promote an informed public opinion
 and clarification of the issues involved it is undesir-
 able that special viewpoints should be pressed while the
 war is in progress to such an extent as to create undue
 anxiety among United Nations and other friendly govern-
 ments and peoples.

KIRK

File No. 800
FW:mph

Paraphrase

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1-1148

From: Amlegation, Cairo

Date: July 24, 1 p.m.

No.:

Code: Strip

Received: July 25, 8 a.m.

Most Immediate

The Department's No. 971 of July 22, 5 p.m. to Cairo
follows:

The foregoing is to be repeated to Baghdad,
Jerusalem, Jidda, and Beirut which should repeat to
Damascus.

Kirk

File No. 800
MPH/-

paraphrase
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: AmLegatdon, Cairo

Date: July 26, 11 a.m.

No.:

Code: Gray and Strip

Received: July 26, 6:30 p.m.

Department's 984, July 24, 4 p.m. follows:

Reference Department's 969, July 22, 2 p.m.

Secret for the Minister.

The issuance of the statement is being postponed
at the request of the British 24 hours until July
28(repeat 28) at 12 o'clock EWT.

Repeat to Baghdad, Jerusalem, Jidda, and Beirut
for repetition to Damascus .

Kirk

File no. 800
MPH/*

paraphrase
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: AMLEGATION, Cairo

Date: July 27, 6 p.m.

No.:

Code: Strip

Received: July 28, 8 a.m.

The Department's telegram No. 995 of July 26,
5 p.m. to Cairo follows:

"Urgent. Secret for the Minister.

There is to be a brief postponement in the
issuance of the statement regarding Palestine,
which statement was to have been issued at 12 noon
on July 28. Repeat at once to Baghdad Jerusalem Jidda
and Beirut for Damascus. Hull."

Kirk

File No. 800
MPH7-

PARAPHRASE
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

16-52262-1

From: American Legation
Cairo, Egypt.

Date: August 8, noon.

No.:

Received: August 8, 1943.

Code: Strip Cipher

MOST IMMEDIATE

Following is Department's 1118, August 7, 5 p. m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The substance of the following message should be transmitted to the Foreign Office:

After further discussions with the U. S. War Department, the decision has been reached that the proposed joint statement concerning Palestine shall not be issued. We had thought that the security situation in the Middle East was such, as far as the military authorities were concerned, as to call for action directed to the end of reducing agitation in Palestine and eliminating the possibility of any disturbances there. After re-examining the question however the War Department has concluded that the security situation is not so critical as to require any action at the present time. Since the only purpose for the proposed statement was to improve a condition which was believed to be dangerous to the military security of United Nations forces in the Middle East, we now feel that no basis exists, so far as this country is concerned, for issuing the statement.

Department's 995 July 26, 5 p. m.

Secret for the Minister.

Please see that this telegram is repeated to Jidda, Baghdad, Jerusalem and Beirut for repetition to Damascus.

Kirk

File no. 800
DCB

PARAPHRASE
TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: August 9, noon.

No.: 345

Code: Strip Cipher

Charged to: Contingent

670 1-1142

Department's telegram to Cairo, no. 1118 of
August 7, 5 p. m.

Inasmuch as we have not as yet mentioned anything concerning the joint declaration set out in Department's no. 970 to Cairo of July 22, 4 p. m. to the Foreign Office, it would appear that the desirable thing would be for this Legation to take no action to the end of acquainting the Foreign Office with the final decision of the Department. Please confirm.

Wilson

File no. 800
T.M.V./dcb

PARAPHRASE
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: American Legation
Cairo, Egypt.

Date: August 10, 9 a. m. 16-23809-1

No.:

Code: Confidential

Received: August 10, 1943.

MOST IMMEDIATE

It is the assumption of this Legation that the first five words of my August 8, noon (a repetition of Department's 1118, August 7, 5 p. m. to Cairo) were not repeat not intended by the Department to be a cause for action in diplomatic missions in the Middle East but were directed solely to the Embassy in London.

Kirk

File no. 800
MPH/DCB

PARAPHRASE
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: American Legation
Cairo, Egypt.

Date: August 16, 9 a. m.

16-82853-1

No.:

Code: Confidential

Received: August 17, 1943.

Reference my telegram of August 10, 9 a. m.

We have now received a statement from the Department confirming our belief that Department's telegram of August 7, 5 p. m. (No. 1118 to Cairo) was for information only. The Department did not intend that it be acted upon by any American Mission in this area.

This telegram is being sent to Baghdad, Jerusalem, Jidda and to Beirut for repetition to Damascus.

Kirk

File no. 800
DCB

Baghdad, August 20, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. 417

Subject: Al-Shihab of Baghdad Publishes Attack on
Zionism.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

in translation

I have the honor to forward herewith the text/of
an editorial attack on Zionism, published by the
Arabic-language daily newspaper Al-Shihab of Baghdad
on August 9, 1943. The article is a reply to an article
on "The Political Scene", appearing in the Jewish
Standard.

Nuri Pasha's Government for a long time has not
permitted any anti-Zionist material to appear in the
Iraqi press or on the radio, and has made a conscientious
effort to keep from inflaming the population against
the Zionists, even suppressing newspaper reports of
the Biltmore Congress and other news-worthy items of
interest in the Palestine question. It is therefore
interesting that Al-Shihab, whose editor, Shafiq Nuri
As-Saidi (no relationship) is a protégé of Nuri As-
Said, should publish this violent denunciation of the
Zionist claims. It is also interesting to report that
up to now the supplementary editorial on the same sub-
ject which is promised at the end of this present
article has not yet been published.

This article answers various points put by the
Jewish Standard: it scores the Jewish paper's assertion
that Arab and Moslem Egypt is not interested in the
Arab cause, which is only cooperation among equals;
it denies charges of Iraqi "imperialism", although
it admits that Arab imperialism, whether led by Iraq,
Egypt, or others, is as sweet to the Arabs as Zionist
imperialism is to the Jews; and it cites Ibn Saud's
statement to the correspondent of Life on Palestine and
Arab unification as proof of that monarch's interest
in the matter. It concludes: "The Arab world which is
now resisting Nazism is equally able to resist other
pestilential plagues such as Zionism which harbor ill-
will and deceit for the Arabs."

Respectfully yours,

File No. 800
REG:mph

T. M. Wilson

Enclosure: Translation of Article Described.

Copies to: American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Beirut.
American Legation, Jidda.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.

WPH

Enclosure to despatch No. 417 of August 20, 1943, from
the American Legation, Baghdad.

Source: Ash-Shihab,
August 9, 1943,
Baghdad.

Arab Unification and Zionism

The Jewish Standard publishes an article under the headline THE POLITICAL SCENE which deals with the subject of Arab unification, picturing the Arab states' attitude toward this unification in a strange and apprehensive manner. The paper does not stop at this. It invents through this picture and analysis problems and difficulties which look almost unsurmountable in the task of attaining the desired Arab unification. At the end of the article, the newspaper urges Zionism to double its energy and effectiveness and to fix its aims and purposes. The article contains backbiting and slander which should, of course, be answered and commented on in order to reveal the truth and to enlighten world public opinion. "He who knocketh at the door receiveth an answer"....

The journal begins the article with a description of the activity of Arab personalities in the Middle East and Egypt for the purpose of holding meetings and laying down plans, and declares that these meetings have not resulted in any form of unification and that no agreement has so far been reached on any specific point. The journal then dwells on the "seeming" interest of Egyptian official circles in and their support for Arab co-operation. It alleges that the interest which these circles are showing in the Arab cause is a deviation from the "traditional Egyptian policy" which is non-participation in Arab political demands and "does not represent Egyptian opinion in general."

We do not know why this journal has wilfully misrepresented the Egyptian traditional policy, which is an Arabic-Islamic one. The history of Egypt, through every period, is the best proof of the appreciated efforts which Egypt has made and is still making in the spheres of Arabism and Islam.

Just as King Hussain ibn Ali, forerunner of Faisal, raised the banner of Arab renaissance, so Mohammed Ali the Great, forerunner of Farouq I, raised this banner and followed this path. Behold sister Egypt declaring that if she were divested of Arabism and Islam, nothing would be left to her. A review of the attitude of the Egyptian people toward the Arab cause and of the long activity of her leaders in this respect indicates that Egypt is Arab in her habits and history, in spirit and language, and that her traditional policy is absolutely Arab. An eloquent proof of Egypt's support to the Arab unification scheme is the establishment in that country of an Arab Union Club whose functions are the binding of Arab countries with cultural, political, and economic ties. Has the journal realized the truth of Egypt's attitude toward the Arab unification scheme?

The journal then goes on to say that "in Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, there are different and clashing viewpoints on the question of who shall assume the leadership of Arab unification." Our answer to the journal is that the Arab unification which the Arabs are endeavoring to attain is not established on the basis of the leadership of any one country to overwhelm the others.

The

The proposed Arab unification will not cause any Arab country to lose its individual future. It does not affect its administrative, economic, and cultural machinery in any way whatever. Arab unification is established on the basis of complete co-operation between all the Arab states: cultural, economic, and political. Therefore, the question of "leadership" of Arab unification is not, at the moment, the subject of study and controversy by Arab circles, because the urgency and program of unification do not naturally call for this.

The journal continues "Iraq also has economic and political problems. She stretches into vast expanses and is sparsely inhabited. Nevertheless, she hopes to head a new form of Arab imperialism and her voice has been louder than the rest in denying the persecuted Jews the right for a state and asylum." These "logical" descriptions as inspired by the journal's talent are acceptable only to ignorant persons who know nothing of Iraq's past and present history, and to persons who choose to be blind and ignorant and not to be inspired by good will. These strange descriptions indicate, if anything, a deviation of the journal from the path of righteousness and truth. Otherwise, it would not have been blind to the vitality of the Iraqi people, to their soaring spirits, and to the elements of civilization and sources of wealth which abound in Iraq, in addition to Iraq's nationalistic and political struggle to enjoy her own rights and to safeguard the rights of the Arab states as well. Likewise, Iraq - the cradle of civilization and the abode of tolerant religion - has her communities and elements living side by side on the basis of equality. In its most conspicuous chapters and provisions, the Iraqi Constitution embodies the rights of the minorities, rendering all Iraqis equal before the law: in rights and duties. However, Iraq in which on the one hand the Jews lead a peaceful, tranquil and prosperous life, does not, on the other, hesitate to condemn Zionist policy which aims at overwhelming and encroaching upon the rights of the Arab nation. We refer, in this connection, to the speech which His Excellency Sayid Nuri as-Said delivered at the Round Table Conference concerning the Palestinian cause, when he told his listeners that "he represented the Arabs and the Jews at this meeting". Iraq, on her part, does not wish to lead a new form of Arab imperialism, as the journal puts it. Nevertheless, any Arab imperialism - whether lead by Iraq, Egypt, or others - is sweet to the Arabs just as "Zionist imperialism" in the heart of the Arab countries, pleases the journal.

The journal declares that "amidst all this, the rulers of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia appear to be calm and aloof". It forgets the statement of His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud on the Jews in Palestine and Arab unification - this important statement which has been the source of despair and frustration in Zionist circles throughout the world.

The journal then urges that Zionists to formulate plans amidst these surging waves, and blames Zionist leaders who restrict themselves to weeping and complaints in the face of the difficulties that are threatening them. It, moreover, censures the Colonial Office's attitude in regard to the policy of Palestine during the past twenty years.

The journal then adds "Arab apprehension (with regard to Zionism) no longer exists, whether actual or imaginary". If the journal claims that Arab fears no longer exist, is it able to claim that Arab rights do exist. There is no power

on earth, however strong and despotic, that can rob the Arabs of their rights and that would sacrifice these rights on the altar of its desire and ambition. So long as these sacred Arab rights actually exist, any one who attempts to usurp them must realize that fear of the Arabs actually exists, because the possessor of a right must sacrifice himself in order to preserve and enjoy that right.

The journal alleges that "there are other factors, such as the emergence of Turkey as being concerned with all changes in the Middle East, American concern with aerial communications over this vital area, and organized international pressure, all of which will place the Jews in a position which will help them to bring the Jews of Europe to Palestine, as soon as circumstances will permit." These factors, mentioned by the journal, in addition to others not mentioned by it, do not frighten the Arabs in the least and also do not escape their attention. Such factors may have more positive than negative results in relation to the Arabs. The cause of the Arab world, which is today struggling alongside the Allies, constitutes one of the fundamental causes of the new world. Any world in which the Arab world will not occupy a suitable place, will be a world not founded on the principles of justice and universal security. The Arab world, which is now resisting Nazism, is equally able to resist other pestilential plagues such as Zionism which harbor ill-will and deceit for the Arabs.

We will have another article on the subject in our issue of tomorrow.

Baghdad, September 10, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. 447

Subject: Government-Engineered Eruption of Anti-Zionist Propaganda in Baghdad.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch no. 417 of August 20, 1943, regarding the publication in a Baghdad Arabic-language newspaper of an attack on Zionism in spite of the hitherto conscientious efforts of General NURI As-Said's government to suppress any material which might inflame the Arab population against the Jews. The supplementary editorial promised in the article forwarded to the Department with the despatch under reference never appeared.

However, in the past few days a number of anti-Zionist articles, obviously Government inspired, have appeared in the local press, as follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Subject of Article</u>
September 7	<u>Al-Iraq</u>	The Palestinian Problem
	<u>Az-Zaman</u>	Arab Rights in Palestine
September 8	<u>Al-Akhbar</u>	The Arab Countries and the Independence of Palestine
	<u>Al-Shihab</u>	The Arab and Zionism
	<u>Az-Zaman</u>	The Palestinian Cause and Zionism
	<u>Saut Al-Ahali</u>	Allied Post-War Policy and Its Relation to the Arab Countries
September 9	<u>Al-Iraq</u>	The Arab States and the Atlantic Charter - Do the Jews Prefer to Live in Palestine Rather than in Europe and America?
	<u>Al-Shihab</u>	Arab Resistance to Zionism

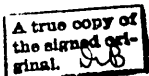
The two articles from Az-Zaman concocted by the Iraqi Directorate General of Press and Propaganda, were broadcast by the Baghdad radio station on successive nights, September 5 and 6, before their publication.

Since?

Since all the articles contain the same general material, I am forwarding herewith as samples in translation Az-Zaman's two articles and an excerpt from Al-Iraq's article of September 7. The attitude expressed is that "the present struggle in Palestine is a struggle between Arab right and Zionist falsehood" (Az-Zaman, September 7) and "in waging this campaign against world Zionism the Arabs are not fighting against the Jews as such but against Zionism alone, i. e. colonization and exploitation of the lands of the Arab East" (Az-Zaman, September 8).

The public here has been stirred to considerable comment by the appearance of these articles, and the Baghdad Jews are alarmed at the prospect of an anti-Zionist campaign putting their lives and property to hazard. It is thought that the Pan-Arab enthusiasts around Nuri Pasha have turned to this subject in order to quicken flagging public interest - never very strong - in the cause of Arab nationalism. It is probable also that the Government at Baghdad, feeling that the war is almost ended, senses that now is the time at which to press claims for settlement of the Palestinian situation in a manner agreeable to the Arabs. In this connection, please see the Legation's despatch no. 448 of even date, regarding Nuri Pasha's denial of his August 3 statement that Palestine's position in Pan-Arab federation projects depended naturally on her post-war status.

Respectfully yours,



Thomas M. Wilson

File no. 800
REG/dob

Enclosures:

Three articles in translation, as stated.

To the Department in ozalid.
Copies to:

American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Beirut.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 447 of September 10, 1943,
from the American Legation, Baghdad, Iraq.

SOURCE: Az-Zaman, September 6,
1943, Baghdad.

The Palestinian Cause and Zionism

(Broadcast by Baghdad Radio September 5, 1943)

The Arab and Islamic states meet under the standard of brotherhood, cooperation, and collaboration. They stand as one bloc and as a strong bulwark in defense of their existence and of their freedom and independence. This Arab cooperation and Islamic collaboration is most clearly evident whenever the nation is afflicted with grave misfortune and painful calamity, and whenever it is threatened with dangers and overrun by crises. There is no greater proof of the Arab unity in feeling than the formidable stand which the Arab and Islamic World has assumed toward the Palestinian cause, which is long outstanding and has become so complicated and important as to constitute both a major international and Arabic-Islamic problem. Thus the Arabs have offered, in a quarter century, bloody sacrifices on the altar of honor and magnanimity - all for the sake of the complete independence of their countries and for the attainment of their full sovereignty. Palestine the martyr has suffered so much from political misfortunes and evils. The soil of Palestine the struggler is drenched with the blood of martyrs, and her sky is filled with the souls of the innocent. Blood-stained and patient Palestine has ever been the sacred kubla of the Arabs and the object of their care and attention. How could it be otherwise, when she is the throbbing heart of Arabism, overflowing with glory, righteousness, and immortality. How could it be otherwise, when she is the good and sacred country on whose fluttering banners are inscribed verses of sacrifice and struggle. We do not wish, in dwelling on the subject of the Palestinian cause, to be overcome by sympathy and sentiment to the detriment of scrutiny and deliberation. We want to abide by right and justice and by sincere and manifest history. It is not easy fully to review the Palestinian cause in a talk or two, because even a brief reference to this important and delicate subject would need much time and abundant effort, both of which are beyond the scope of these limited minutes. We will, on this basis and as much as time permits, conduct a series of talks on one of the principle problems now pre-occupying the attention of the Arabs and Moslems alike.

Ancient history tells us that more than 3,000 years ago, Palestine was inhabited by non-Jewish peoples. Around 1100 B.C. the Jews were able to capture certain mountainous regions and to usurp them from their old Palestinian inhabitants. They united under King David and then under King Solomon whose reign ended in 930 B.C. With the death of Solomon, weakness and destruction set in this kingdom which split into the Kingdom of "Israel" and that of "Judah". Subsequently, it was captured by the Assyrians and later by the Babylonians, when Nabuchadnezzar added it to his possessions. Jerusalem was pillaged, Solomon's temple destroyed, and the Jews exiled and dispersed.

In 536 B.C. Cyrus, the Persian Emperor, occupied Babylon. The Jews were conquered by the Persians and later by the Ptolemies until 63 B.C. when Jerusalem was overrun by the

Romans

Romans. Thus Palestine continued to be occupied by the Romans, the Jews having had no say in at all. The Arabs, however, captured it during the regime of the second Caliph, Omar ibn Al-Khattab who victoriously entered Jerusalem after having taken it over from the Patriarch in 637 A.D. The Caliph was promised that Jews will not enter Palestine. The Arabs ruled from that ancient time until the present, i.e. about thirteen centuries.

It will appear from this historical resume that the Jews are not the ancient inhabitants of Palestine but are aliens, aye, usurpers who, at an unwary moment of history, overcame that country where they stayed not more than 170 years and where the Arabs have been living for more than 1,300 years as indicated above. Thus Palestine became their home under whose sky their fathers and ancestors lived. They built their mosques and shrines on its soil, below which their heroes and men slept. The Jewish minority lived with freedom, tranquility, and peace under Islam which did not molest their creeds and religious rites nor did it prejudice their traditional heritage. This has been the position of the Jews under the auspices of the Arabs and Islam. In Europe and America, persecution was their lot, with calamitous consequences both to their old and young. They were denied the right to own immovable property and to engage in agriculture and industry!! The west did not mitigate its excesses towards the Jews until after humanitarian principles and religious toleration had spread in Europe. History bears testimony to the fact that the Jews were emancipated in France, Italy, Germany, America, and Britain only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Having been emancipated in these two centuries from numerous shackles, the Jews reverted to their golden dreams and resumed their exposed and scandalous methods. Zionism emerged with its transparent dress and tattered rags and developed into a political movement after having first been a spiritual movement of no significance. Zionist activities have, ever since, been gravely increasing and world Zionist leaders using every means to raise their voice and to realize their dreams and fancies. The Arabs would not have cared either for the good and evil effect of Zionism and would not have stood in its way had it not turned its face towards Palestine, the Arabic and Moslem state, with a view to capturing, exploiting, dividing, and trading in it.

At the outbreak of the first world war, the Arabs did not hesitate for a single moment to join the Allies, who gave them clear promises concerning the independence of the Arab states, including Palestine. The Arabs began their great revolution, which constituted a principal turning point in the progress of the war and politics at the time. Today, the Arabs stand, as they did in the past, alongside the Allies to fight for right, freedom, and honor.

We shall revert in our next talk, to the irrefutable testimonials and proofs upholding the rights of the Arabs. It is regrettable indeed that Palestine, the indivisible part of the greater Arab nation, should be a theater for Zionist imperialistic ambitions, and a field for deceit, plotting and crime!! It is strange indeed that the Great War should have ended and a long period elapsed with violated Palestine still writhing on the altar of imperialism,

as if the Arab revolution, the Arabs' struggle, blood, and sacrifice, were a help to the Zionists to spread their poison and to set their feet in this honorable country which is held holy by the Arabs and blessed by Moslems all over the world. The Arab and Moslem countries, which are struggling for right and freedom, can not stand with folded arms and be contented with an observer's role at the existing state of affairs in this holy land which the Zionists are attempting to colonize and exploit through migration and other means. The present struggle in Palestine is a struggle between Arab right and Zionist falsehood. These must realize and admit that Palestine is Arab and Moslem, that it has been the property of the Arabs since time immemorial, and that the use of the property of others is unjust under all circumstances. We openly declare to the British nation, in the name of righteousness and fairplay, and in the name of honor and magnanimity that the misfortune of Palestine is, in effect, a bleeding wound in the heart of the Arabs which will not cure unless Palestine obtains her freedom and sovereignty side by side with all the Arab countries. We shall revert to this subject.

Tr: JNC/efg.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 447 of September 10, 1943,
from the American Legation, Baghdad, Iraq.

Source: Az-Zaman, September 7,
1943, Baghdad.

Arab Rights in Palestine

(Broadcast by Baghdad Radio - September 6, 1943)

We stated in our yesterday's talk on "The Palestinian Cause and Zionism" that Palestine was Arab and Moslem; that the Arabs have been living in Palestine for more than thirteen centuries; that the Jews did not rule it more than 170 years; that they entered it as raiders, having usurped it from its ancient inhabitants by force; and that they themselves were later ejected from it by force. We supported these contentions with indisputable historical evidence which would not even be denied by the Jews themselves if they chose to be just and fair to righteousness and history.

On this basis, Palestine is an indivisible part of the greater Arab nation. It is, indeed, the throbbing heart of Arabism and Islam. It is, moreover, the first of the two places of Moslem prayer, and the third of the Moslem holy places, without the least doubt. The treachery and iniquity which Zionism harbors for Palestine will not harm that country alone but all the Arab states. Zionism is, in substance and appearance, an irresponsible imperialistic movement, aiming at amputating one of the dearest sections of Arabism and its most sacred member, and at using Palestine as a principal base from which it may expand its influence and impose its control over the rest of the Arab states such as Iraq, Egypt, Syria, the Arabian Peninsula, and others.

Therefore, the Zionist program is an imperialist one. These are its aims and aspirations, and these are its methods and contents. It will be nonsensical and futile on the part of critics to imagine that Zionism is a policy separated, in any way, from imperialism. In waging their campaign against world Zionism, the Arabs are not fighting against the Jews as such but against Zionism alone, i.e. colonization and exploitation of the lands of the Arab East.

The Arab right in Palestine is based on three main considerations: 1) historical; 2) sacrifice, struggle, and loyalty for the sake of the independence of the Arab states; and 3) legality of the agreements concluded between the Arabs and Great Britain.

The Arab historical right was explained in our previous talk. The Arabs have been living in that country for centuries, dating back to ancient times. Palestine is therefore Arab in history and tradition, Arab in blood and spirit, and Arab in deed and speech. Arab sacrifices and struggles since the outbreak of the great Arab revolution have been equally admitted by friend and foe - this credits the Arabs with deeds of heroic struggle from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the present date. The explicit pledges between the Arabs and Great Britain were made by Sir Henry McMahon on behalf of the British Government to His Majesty King Hussain, on behalf of the Arab nation. These pledges and promises are very clear. They were signed by Sir Henry McMahon in the Arabic language. It appears from the Arabic text that Palestine - without doubt - is among the Arab territories which were promised to the Arabs.

These documents were given to His Majesty King Hussain and to the Arabs in the Arabic language only. This clearly indicates that the Arabic is the prevailing text and that it is the last recourse in the interpretation of the agreements. Thus the Arabs entered the Great War alongside the Allies, aware of and confident in the legality of these pledges which guarantee freedom and independence for their countries. The Arabs were, on the other hand, cognizant that Britain excepted Beirut and the Lebanon only from these agreements. King Hussain declared in one of his letters to Sir Henry McMahon that the Arabs will not raise any political problem at the time about Beirut and the Lebanon in order not to prejudice Anglo-French relations, but that the Arabs would certainly demand Beirut and the other northern areas when the war was over. The reader of these pledges between the Arabs and Britain will not feel the slightest doubt that they constitute clear documents supporting the demands of the Arabs for their boundaries which were proposed by the Shereef of Mecca (King Hussain), who did not exclude the places which were temporarily bound to French interests, i.e. these undoubted and explicit pledges included Palestine in the sphere of the independent Arab kingdom. These pledges were the principal motive for the Arabs to begin their great revolution and to safeguard their honor. They did not cease the struggle until after the Arab countries were liberated from injustice and tyranny. The revolution was crowned with the laurels of honor and success. But after the Arabs had declared war and defended and fought for right, duty, and honor, they were, unfortunately, faced with a strange declaration known as the "Balfour Declaration". This document is in the form of a communication from Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild, the Jew. It was published on November 3, 1917. But the Arabs, to whom Zionist intentions had become known, revolted against the Balfour Declaration, stuck to the pledges that were already given to them, and demanded their execution whether by force, or in the name of right and justice or in the name of the sacrifices and the martyrs who offered their pure souls and invaluable blood for the sake of their people and country.

The pledges given to the Shereef of Mecca were made to a leader of a nation that fought alongside Great Britain, i.e. to all the Arabs. Balfour's Declaration was made to a single individual in the interests of a people scattered all over the world and belonging to sundry nationalities:

The pledges given to the Arabs are pledges of truth and righteousness offered to a nation which bought them with much blood and hard and glorious struggle. They are, moreover, pledges that offer the Arabs no more than their sacred natural rights, containing nothing impossible of application and execution, and harboring no ill-will toward any people. But Balfour's Declaration is not based on any sense of righteousness and justice, in addition to the impossibility of its execution and to its injustice to a peaceful and tranquil people living in their homeland for centuries, far from the spirit of aggression and trouble. The International Court of Justice has pointed out that the mandate covering the Balfour Declaration is in truth only a political pledge having no force from a purely legal aspect.

It is worth mentioning that President Wilson laid down in December 1917, i.e. directly after the Balfour Declaration, fourteen basic points for peace. These were, at the time, unconditionally accepted by the Allies. One of these points provided that "the Turkish sections of the present Ottoman Empire should be guaranteed complete sovereignty. The other non-Turkish nations which are subjugated to Turkish rule should live in peace and tranquility and be accorded opportunities for progress toward self-rule without hindrance." No doubt, this principle alone, together with the other principles, supports the pledges which the Allies had given to the Arabs and cancels the evil Balfour Declaration. We now conclude our talk and shall revert to the subject later.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 447 of September 10, 1943,
from the American Legation, Baghdad, Iraq.

"Al-Iraq: "The cause of Palestine is not, as some people think one of the complex and difficult-to-solve problems if looked at rightly and with justice and if falsehood is put away. It is a clear matter as far as her Arab inhabitants are concerned on account of their historical rights which silence the pretenders, disperse the illusions of those who give themselves to illusions and frustrate every claim meant to breach the legality of those rights. Everything that belittles or contradicts these rights is a clear aggression. Everyone assisting this aggression is considered a factor altering the right and driving it into an improper channel.. We are convinced that all the attempts of the Zionist politicians to destroy the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to their own country will be met with strong opposition by the United Nations fighting for the liberty and independence of nations, and more especially so since these attempts contradict the implications of the Atlantic Charter which acknowledge the natural rights of people to their countries..... It is an injustice to ask the Arab people of Palestine to deny themselves, to forget their Arabism, to take their natural rights to their country lightly, and to turn this country over to strangers whom international conditions brought forth as petty politicians claiming falsely the ownership of this country as being beneficial for them and forgetting the political and geographical importance this country has for all the Arab countries surrounding it... The solution of this problem is very easy if the rights of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine are taken into consideration and if the false claims put forth by the Zionists and their supporters are put aside..."

Baghdad, September 10, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. 448

Subject: NURI Pasha Publishes at Baghdad Denial
of Earlier Statement on Palestine.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch no. 409 of August 10, 1943, regarding Nuri Pasha's trip to Cairo to discuss Pan-Arab federation with NAHAS Pasha. Among the reports of the trip appearing in the Baghdad newspapers was one dated August 3, published by Al-Akhbar, quoting an Arab News Agency despatch from Cairo:

"His Excellency Sayid Nuri as-Said declared in an interview that cooperation between all Arab countries in the Near East is the basis of the unification scheme. Among the states which will adhere to this union will be Egypt, Iraq, the Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia. Palestine's position depends naturally on postwar conditions."

The following item was printed in Al-Shihab of Baghdad on September 9:

"Jerusalem - His Excellency Sayid Nuri as-Said, Prime Minister of Iraq, while passing through Transjordan on his return from Cairo after his meeting with His Excellency Nahas Pasha, denied the statement which was attributed to him while at Cairo to the effect that Palestine's position in the Arab unification scheme depended upon her postwar status and added: 'I did not make such a statement. Palestine occupies a high place with us and we can not discuss Arab matters in detail if the cause of Palestine is not included among them.'"

Nuri Pasha passed through Transjordan on August 9, just one month to the day before the denial was printed in the Baghdad paper. Accordingly it is possible to entertain the thought of its having been resurrected by the Directorate General of Press and Propaganda in connection with the present anti-Zionist

press/

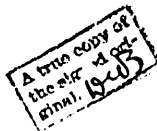
-2-

press campaign in Baghdad, concerning which please
see the Legation's despatch no. 447 of even date.
The denial has not appeared before in the Iraqi papers.

Respectfully yours,

Thomas M. Wilson

File no. 800.846.1
TMW/dcb



To the Department in ozalid.
Copies to:

American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Beirut.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.

Baghdad, September 17, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. ~~455~~ 464

Subject: Anti-Zionist Press Campaign at Baghdad.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch no. 447 of September 10, 1943, regarding a government-engineered flare-up of anti-Zionist propaganda in the press and on the radio, and to report that only two more articles directly dealing with Zionism have appeared in the Baghdad press subsequent to those already reported upon. I forward herewith the text in translation of one of these articles, entitled "The Arab Struggle in Palestine", which was broadcast by the Baghdad Radio on September 9 and published in Az-Zaman of the same day. Al-Akhbar of Baghdad published a similar article, "Zionist Ambition and the Stability of the Arab World After the War", on September 11.

Cessation of publication of articles directly dealing with Zionism has not, however, meant an end to discussion of the problem. Articles in the press on other subjects contain repeated references to the "menace" of Zionism. In an interview with Reuter's Special Correspondent, published in the Baghdad Arabic-language press on September 14, the Prime Minister, Nuri Pasha, is quoted as saying: "We are not enemies of the Jews but of the Zionists who have a Nazi mentality aiming at the use of force and who are creating trouble. The Peace Conference will end many problems, and I hope that this problem will be settled too. It has become a bleeding wound. Zionist provocative activities are making a bad impression on the Jews in Arab countries. These Jews themselves do not sympathize with Zionism."

Nuri Pasha's statement has brought some reassurance to the local Jews, who had feared that they might be made the scapegoats for Zionist agitation in Palestine. They were also pleased to see the statement in Az-Zaman's article (forwarded herewith) that "the Jews of Iraq...have demonstrated more than once their antagonism to Zionist intentions and...consider Zionism an egoistic policy in the interests of its promoters." It will be remembered, however, (see the Legation's despatch no. 171 of February 2, 1943) that Nuri Pasha tried in vain last winter to obtain a written expression of opinion on the question of Zionism from the Baghdad

Jewish/

- 2 -

Jewish Community leaders.

Speculation at Baghdad summarizes the causes of this outbreak of anti-Zionist propaganda as follows:

(1) It may be an attempt to inject new fire into the Arab nationalist movement in Iraq.

(2) It may be an effort to prepare Iraqi public opinion for an Arab-Zionist conflict in Palestine.

(3) It may be conceived as a good way to put pressure on the British and American Governments to take a more active pro-Arab attitude in the Palestinian problem. The more heated Arab public opinion can be made to appear on the subject, the stronger the Arab leaders may feel they can talk at the peace settlement.

Respectfully yours,

T. M. Wilson


File No. 800
REC:mph

Enclosure:

Article described.

Copies to:

American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Beirut.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.



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Inclosure to despatch No. 464 of September 16, 1943
from the American Legation at Baghdad.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: AZ-ZAMAN
September 9, 1943
Baghdad.

THE ARAB STRUGGLE IN PALESTINE

Broadcast by Baghdad Radio on
September 9, 1943.

We stated in our two previous talks that Zionist tenacity in Palestine is based on the Balfour Declaration which was embodied in the Draft Mandate and accepted by the League of Nations in 1922, i.e. five years after the issuance of that Declaration. We also stated that Arab right in Palestine is based on history, actuality, justice, human rights, and the explicit pledges given by Sir Henry McMahon, on behalf of the British Government, to King Hussain, on behalf of the Arab nation. We went on to say that the bloody struggle which was and is still being enacted on the stage of fighting, patient Palestine is a struggle between Arab right and Zionist falsehood, for Balfour's Declaration violates the pledges which the Allies gave to the great Arab leader (King Hussain). Moreover, Wilson's fourteen points and the joint Anglo-French statement repeal Balfour's Declaration.

Wilson's principles which were laid down in the interest of world peace, grant to the peoples the right to self-determination and declare that the prosperity and progress of the nations are the sacred trust of civilization. In the Anglo-French statement published on November 9, 1918, the two powers declared their war-aims in the conflict which was precipitated by German ambition. These aims were: encouragement and help to the establishment of national governments and administrations in Syria, Iraq and other countries and recognition of these governments when formed. Further, these aims indicated that Britain and France had no intention of imposing any form of governmental machinery on these countries and that they guaranteed abundant aid and co-operation for the operation of the governments and administrations which the inhabitants may choose for themselves. It will therefore be seen that there is nothing to justify the Balfour Declaration from the standpoint of agreements, pledges, and international law, or from that of human right and justice. No free conscience and fair mind accept that a foreign Zionist gang should occupy the home of another ancient nation - the Arab and Moslem nation.

Zionist danger became real when immigration to Palestine began flooding in from all over the world, and when the Zionists in Palestine decided to buy land and property with their plentiful gold and silver.

The Arabs therefore revolted and opposed Zionism, condemned its methods and falsehoods, and declared war on it, so much so that they confused its plans and threatened it with vengeance, failure, and bankruptcy.

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The Arabs revolted against Zionism in 1921, 1929, 1933, 1936 and later. Pure blood was shed, drenching the hills and valleys of Palestine. Threat of arms however formidable and oppressive did not intimidate the Arabs. The weapons of faith, honor, and belief are at all times stronger and more effective than any other weapon.

The Arabs of Palestine and the Arab nation have thus demonstrated a determination to defend and uphold their rights, whatever blind misfortune and black calamity may bring them, and whatever sacrifice and blood they may have to offer for right and freedom. They will either live free and proud or die free and proud. In their struggle, the Arabs depend only on sacred right. They do not ask for more than this right. To usurp Palestine and turn it into a home for Zionism is against the most elementary principles of right and justice.

Palestine is an indivisible part of greater Syria. Syria is an unbreakable link in the greater Arab nation. The Arabian Peninsula obtained its freedom and independence, Iraq and Egypt obtained their freedom and independence, and Syria is entering upon a new era of independence. Yet, Zionist policy wants Palestine to be plunder and booty for the unjust. O God! this is sheer sophistry and false reasoning.

We do not care whether Zionism asks for the impossible, nor do we wonder why it embarks on such dangers, but we do advise it to return to its senses and to take lessons from the past. The whole of Europe tried to take Palestine by force from the Arabs during the crusading period. Battles raged fiercely but Europe succeeded for a short duration only, after which it withdrew with failure. Palestine donned the garb of battle, decked with the blood of martyrs. Palestine has said her word in the field of politics and from the pulpit and the press. Palestine has said her word in the field of struggle and battle. This is the voice of Palestine, reverberating in the skies. This is her voice rising from the groanings of the dying, and the shrieks of the sufferers. This is her voice resounding in the songs of volunteers and the chantings of warriors.

The Arabs carried on their heroic struggle for fighting Palestine, harboring no ill-will toward the Jews because the Arabs follow the charity, toleration, and kindness of their ancestors. The Arabs by dint of their religion, tradition, and inclination, are advocates of right, brotherhood, and equality; and seekers of glory, freedom, and independence. Indeed, the Arabs do not fight Judaism with which they lived and are still living in peace and amity. They oppose Zionism and all other aggressive forces trying to prejudice Arab and Islamic existence and mar, aye, do away with it for ever. Arab defense of Palestine is a defense of the holy land of God, the sacred stone, the Barraaq, and the Aqsa Mosque. Sir Alfred Mond (Lord Melchett) is optimistic that the day when the Temple of Solomon is reconstructed will be near and that he will devote the rest of his life to rebuilding that Temple in the place of the Aqsa Mosque. Mr. Jahotinski (?), the leader of the Zionist Reformers awaits the day when the Jews become a majority and the Moslems a minority. The

Zionist leader Zingwill (?) says "The Arabs should fold their tents and steal away to the desert, whence they came." Do not these Zionist claims reveal its intentions? Do not the statements of its leaders rouse feelings and create misunderstandings? Do not these call for struggle and sacrifice?

The Arabs are confident in the sacred principles which the Allies have proclaimed. They still are confident that these lofty principles will alone be victorious. But Zionism was and is still flouting these principles by its tenacity in Palestine, the Arab Moslem state. Come what may, the Zionist problem must be handled and solved outside Palestine and outside the other Arab and Islamic countries. Palestine is too small to digest Zionism. Facts and events have proved that the experiment of a Zionist national home in Palestine is inevitably an unsuccessful one and that the Balfour Declaration is doomed to failure. It is gratifying indeed that an appreciable portion of the Jews neither believes in Zionism, nor upholds it. It condemns the idea of a national home and is zealous in maintaining friendly relations with the Arabs and Moslems.

Among these are the Jews of Iraq who have demonstrated more than once their antagonism to Zionist intentions and who consider Zionism an egoistic policy in the interests of its promoters. His Excellency the Prime Minister referred to this fact at the Round Table Conference in London and stated that the Jews of Iraq refused the establishment of a Jewish Agency at Baghdad and that the efforts which were made to include the Jews of Iraq in the Zionist bloc have proved a total failure.

We here conclude our talk on the Arab struggle in Palestine and shall revert to the subject.

Tr: JNC

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OUTPOST REPORT

FROM: BAGHDAD OUTPOST

REPORT NO. 7

SEPT. 18, 1943

SUBJECT: Anti-Zionist campaign in the Baghdad Arabic press (cont.)

COUNTRY REPORTED ON: Iraq

SUBJECT NUMBER: 1510

SOURCE AND DEGREE OF RELIABILITY: All articles attached translations from newspapers on hand; all persons quoted named and identified herein.

CLASSIFICATION: Confidential

ENCLOSURES: Translations from Arabic newspapers.

NOTES: Full copy of the attached supplied to the Baghdad Legation as directed by the Minister. Original submitted for Diplomatic Pouch September 18, 1943, ~~amended~~

Attached translations represent a continuance of the anti-Zionist press campaign currently running in the Arabic press of Iraq, initial stories from which were included in Report No. 6, turned over to the Legation on September 11. This campaign was suspended for one day (Sept. 16) but has begun again with no abatement of the vigor of the comment.

Of interest is the fact that the speech of Cordell Hull was used as a springboard for the article in Al Zaman (Azzaman) of September 17; the story opened by saying "we heard some extracts from Mr. Hull's speech through the radio..." Three days prior to this publication, this office received a telephone call from Mr. Fadhil Jamali, asking if I could supply the full text of Hull's speech, including the six points. I informed him that a summary of this speech had appeared that day in the Iraq Times: supplied by Reuters. Identification of Mr. Jamali is available, I am sure, through State reports.

On September 16 at the Legation reception, I was met by F.J. Bradshaw, press writer and (currently) associate director of British Embassy Public Relations in Baghdad, who immediately turned the conversation to the Palestine articles in the Arab papers and to the question of American policy on Palestine. I told him that I was uninformed as to any policy other than publicly declared policies implicit in the Atlantic Charter, and that I was out of touch with the whole question.

The following day, in the course of a routine call on Bradshaw with reference to press photos, he again brought up the subject. When I again declared that I was singularly uninformed as to the current controversies, being extremely busy handling the routine news, he brought out for my inspection his confidential clipping book containing some hundreds of American press cuttings on Zionist activities and statements, plus cutting from the American press dealing with Palestine. He then went on to say the following:

1. That the anti-Zionist campaign in the Iraq press, which had stopped for a day, was starting again and "will continue, I think." (!)
2. That it was "most unfortunate" that Zionist aims are so widely publicized in the American press, while the Arab side of the ~~matter~~

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question receives little or no publicity.

3. That "we" were very anxious to do everything possible to help arrange for stories presenting the Arab side of the question to reach the American press and to that end hoped that it might be possible for American journalists to visit this area and obtain stories for American publications. He further asked me whether OWI might be of help in bringing out such journalists, underlining the fact that he didn't want them to write "pro-Arab or pro-Zionist stories, but simply fair, objective reports." I told him that I did not believe the OWI would undertake to underwrite visits by any journalists except in exceptional circumstances, such as that of bringing selected news men from neutral countries to America for the purpose (earlier in the war) of demonstrating to them the strength of American arms production.

In the course of his monologue (most conversations with Bradshaw quickly become monologues) Bradshaw expressed himself as being personally anti-Semitic, saying that probably it was because he had been exposed so long to reading of Axis newscasts, and earlier to propaganda in Germany.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that articles by Skolsky and Drew Pearson in the clipping book referred to above were heavily and rather vituperatively annotated on the margin, particularly in spots where they referred to Palestinian problems as examples of "British bungling." Sorry I can't give quotes...there wasn't time.

The anti-Zionist campaign brought me another interesting caller during the past week in the person of Mr. Izzat Maidani. Mr. Maidani, without identifying himself, telephoned me several times in the first week of the campaign to call my attention to various newspaper articles. After six or seven calls, I asked him to drop by.

On his arrival, Maidani launched quickly into tirades against British management in Iraq...against American failure to permit Ali Jawdat to plead the Arab cause in America...against Iraqi treatment of minorities in Iraq...against so many things in the course of a few minutes that he began to resemble a trial balloon factory. He received a handful of highly gilded platitudes, some philosophic reflections on how important both America and Britain consider the job of keeping Iraq informed and stimulating education to the end of ensuring a democratic outlook toward minorities, and a cup of coffee.

Izzat Maidani identifies himself as a Firms' Representative of Baghdad and Bataween. I am informed that he is a Baghdad Chaldean Christian of middle-class family, formerly an inspector of Posts & Telegraphs at Basrah for the Iraqi government, and more recently was secretary of the Iraq Cement Company. He is married and his wife is of German origin. It is rumored in Baghdad that he is associated with British Intelligence, but no confirmation of this exists.

Several people have informed me in the past two weeks that an anti-Zionist demonstration was planned here as the culmination of the current press campaign. I am further told by a Jewish family that a demonstration was planned for last night (Sept. 17) but was checked by Iraqi police, who refused permission.

It should be noted that this family and other Jews in Iraq are fearful of the consequences of any demonstration, and that yesterday afternoon they kept indoors.

Elmer S. Evans

SAWT - AL-AHALI NEWSPAPER..... AUGUST 30, 1943

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Subject: PALESTINE'S AND SYRIA'S INDEPENDENCE IS THE PILLAR OF THE ARAB UNITY.

Translation: Never before had the Arab public opinion been convinced, as it is today, of the necessity of Palestine's and Syria's independence, being an essential condition to realize the most desired Arab Unity. This conviction was brought about by many factors; first of all these, was the wake of the Arab peoples and their realization of their national interests; then the fact that these two ~~countries~~ sister countries are a dear part of the Arab world; then the interest of the Arabs concerning the Allied policy ~~after~~ after the war, considering that this policy will have an outstanding consequence in determining the future of the Arab world, whose fate has been linked with that of the Democratic world, in order to obtain ~~its~~ its independence and freedom, and contribute to the triumph of right in the world.

What the Arab public opinion at the present time ~~is~~ desires, is that the Allies would give, as a proof of their good intentions towards the Arab countries, definite and clear promises concerning Palestine and Syria's independence in particular, and North Africa and the other Arab countries which have been deprived of their independence, in general. Ambiguous notifications, unofficial pledges, which have been submitted by the Allies to the Arabs so far - which are merely talks - are not sufficient to satisfy the Arab peoples in any way.

Palestine's question is still pending till today, and the United Nations did not take - especially Britain's and the U.S. Governments - any ~~step~~ practical step to include this tormented, sister country in the Atlantic Charter, in order to stop short the Zionists' attempts aiming always, ~~by~~ the help of the reactionary elements and the exploitation of the Fascists' barbarism in Europe, at isolating the Palestinian Arab nation from the other Arab peoples, so that they can realize their ambitions in the sister country.

It is therefore very natural that we should not keep silent concerning this situation, but it is necessitated that all the Arabs should be always in touch with the Allies in order to ~~guarantee~~ guarantee their approval of the Palestinian Arab question. At the same time it is requested that the national Democratic parties ~~in~~ in the Arab countries should persevere in their attempts to obtain the approval of the peoples' organizations in Britain and America, by the means of organized relations with those organizations, and explaining to them the natural right of the Arab Palestinian people to build an independent State of their own, on the basis of the parliamentary system of government. The communities in that State will be treated according to the Democratic principles. It is necessary that the above mentioned organizations should understand that the imaginary national Home for the Jews does not solve any of the present Jewish problems in the world, which cannot be solved only by the wiping out of the Fascist terroristic rule from the face of the earth, and the spreading of the Democratic spirit all over the world.....

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The following is the translation of an article published
in "AL ZAMAN" daily of September 10, 1943.

THE ARAB STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINE.

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We have, in two previous articles, referred to the fact that the Zionists adherence to Palestine depended upon the Treaty of Balfour, which was included in the "Mandatory Document" and read to the League of Nations in 1922, that is to say, five years after their alleged promises. We have also stated that the Arab right in Palestine is in conformity with the history and fact; with the exigency of humanitarian right, and lucid promises made by Sir Henry MacMahon in the name of the British Government to H. M. King Hussein on behalf of the Arab Nation. We went as far to say that the present bloody struggle in patient Palestine, is but between the rightful claim of the Arabs and the vain demands of the Zionists. The Treaty of Balfour contradicts the promises made by the Allies to the great Arab leader, notwithstanding the fact that Mr Wilson's fourteen principles together with the statements of Great Britain and France annul the Treaty of Balfour.

The principles of Mr. Wilson were to have peace reigning throughout the world and the right for the people to chose their destiny; The welfare and future of the peoples is entrusted to the civilization.

In their combined declaration of November 7th, 1918 Great Britain and France manifested their aims during the war caused by the creed of Germany, that they would encourage and assist in forming small nations, and national administrations in Syria and Iraq and other states and to recognize these governments upon their construction. Great Britain and France have no intentions to impose on these States any form of government establishments though it is clear that their design is to aid ~~himself~~ and adequately help the good administration of these governments chosen by the people themselves.

It will therefore be noted that there is no justifiable reason from the point of treaties, obligations and international law or from the point of view of justice and human right for the Treaty of Balfour. No free conscience or wiseman would consent that a group of foreign Zionists occupy the residences of another nation which is the Islamic Arabic Nation.

The danger was increased from the time the Zionists' emigration into Palestine from all parts of the world and since they resolved to procure land and property and gold and silver.

Consequently, the Arabs revolted against the Zionists, hampered their progress, collapsed their activity and threatened them with bankruptcy and failure.

The Arabs revolted during the years 1921, 1929, 1933, 1936 and later and all this innocent blood was shed in Palestine and ignored the severity of the struggle and the effective weapons used against them as their belief, honor and faith was more powerful and effective at any time.

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In this manner Palestine and with it the Arab Nation that they are decided to fight for their right at no matter what cost and no matter what sacrifice and blood entailed to maintain their right and freedom. They either live free or die free. In their said struggle the Arabs have no aim rather than their right and demand nothing else than this sacred right. The expropriation of Palestine and rendering it a cradle for Zionism is contradictory to all rudiments of justice and right.

Palestine is a part that cannot be divided, from larger Syria. And Syria cannot be taken away from larger Arab Nation. The Arab peninsula obtained its freedom and independence. Iraq and Egypt also obtained their freedom and independence, and Syria has entered her new independent state. Despite that, the Zionism freuses Palestine to be free. On God what a blasphemy ! What sophism and paralysed speech.

We do not object the Zionism demanding the impossible nor wonder adhering to this behaviour but the advise her to be sensible and go back to history and time to find that the entire of Europe could not wrench Palestine away from the Arabs. Despite being overwhelmed by the Crusades, Palestine emerged free. Palestine has solemnly declared her word in all fields, and you can still hear her groaning, you can still hear the voices of her victims and volunteers.

The Arabs undertook this struggle with absolutely no animosity against the Jews as the Arabs, like their ancestors, are generous and just. By their religion and tradition the Arabs are peaceful and peace-loving. The Arabs in their struggle do not fight the Jews who are living and who have been living with them for many years, but they are fighting against the Zionists and/or any other group who intend depriving them of their independence.

The Arabs strife for Palestine is nothing but for the Holy Land and what it contains of sacred edifices. Sir Alfred Maund (Lord ?) predicts that the day for constructing a temple has approached and that he would preach for the rest of his days that he would construct a temple for Suleiman instead of Mosque (Masjid Al Aqsa).

The leader of the Zionist Radical party, Mr Jabotinski, awaits the day to find the Jews a majority and the Mohammedans a minority. (Zinkoel) another Zionist leader advised the Mohammedan to destroy their tents and depart to the desert from which they came. Cannot all this prove their inner feelings and intentions ? Don not all these declarations by made by the Zionists' leaders provoke the peaceful minds and call for a struggle and sacrifice ?

The Arabs believed and still believe in the sacred principles declared by the Allies, which principles will finally prevail, but the Zionism used and still challenges these principles by striving for Palestine, the Islamic Arabic sons. At any rate, the Zionists' question must be remedied and solved outside Palestine and the Arabic and other Islamic States because the small Palestinian system cannot bear the Zionism lust under any circumstances. It has been proven that the Zionists' activities for a National Unity in Palestine is nothing but a failure despite the Treaty of Balfour. What strikes the mind most is that a large number of Jews ignore the Zionism Unity and strive for a friendship between the Arabs and Muslims.

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Among these Jews are the Baghdad ones who have manifested on many occasions that they have nothing to do ^{with} and despise this movement considering it an entirely political one designed for the personal gains of the leaders. H.E. Sayid Nuri El Said has declared to the Round Table Conference held in London that Baghdad Jews not only refuse to participate in this movement but even refuse to have an agency of this Zionism party in Iraq which intends to combine the Iraq Jews with the Zionism Union.

Here we end this article in conjunction with the Arabs' struggle for Palestine and shall come back on the subject again.

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The following article was published in Saut Al-Ahali daily newspaper of September 13th, 1943.

Mr. Martin Harlinay, Reuter's special correspondent in this city, upon his interview with H.E. General Nuri Al-Said, Iraqi Prime Minister wrote :-

His Excellency spoke vehemently about the Zionists' recent demands which were attacked by the local papers and said that no struggle exists between us and the Jews but the Zionists' pursuing their severity and force have, by these means, given vent for trouble and discomfort. Nevertheless, the Peace Conference would solve divers problems among them this question.

The recent Zionists' activities have had a great reflected effect and disapproval of the Arab Jews among other Jews.

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The above statement of the Prime Minister has been published in many local papers.

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SAWT AL-AHALI NEWSPAPER..... SEPTEMBER 8, 1943

Subject: ALLIED POLICY AFTER THE WAR, AND ITS RELATION ~~TE~~ WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES. (Extract)

Translation: ~~xxxxxx~~ It is very natural that the Arab public opinion should be directed towards the Palestinian question, and the suffering of that country at the present time through some exceptional conditions which make its future quite unknown, and its destiny indecise.

The Arab public opinion is perplexed about the future of the rightful question of that country, and reviews the different phases by which the Palestinian question has passed so far. The Arab public opinion does not see in the Palestinian question only a way of getting away with the promises, and ~~xxxxxx~~ disregarding the right of the Palestinian people in getting independence and freedom, and self-rule.....Despite that this crucial fact arises the feeling of every national Arab, it should not divert our attention from the developments taking place all over the world which are to give the peoples of the world a hope in a free future. Therefore, it is the right of the Arab public opinion to ask: "What would be the fate of the Atlantic Charter as concerns ~~xxxxxx~~ the Arabic Palestine in particular and all the Arab countries in general? Will it be the same fate as that of all the declarations and pledges made formerly?"

We know quite well that the reactionery elements in the world want it to be so, and that they are trying to keep the Arab nation and all the nations of the world under the yoke of oppression and exploitation by others. On the other hand we know quite well too, that there are peoples fighting for freedom, backed by millions of working hands and cultivated ~~xxxx~~ loving peoples who are trying to assure freedom for the world, including the Arab countries,.....

But the existence of these forces of liberation whose importance is increasing daily, should not induce the Arab nation to be diverted from ~~xxxx~~ its claims, but it must encourage it to persevere in its struggle for freedom, with the help of these forces, by the way of coming in touch with them. It is essential that the Arabs should not overlook the danger of these reactionery elements, and the attempts ~~xx~~ they will endeavour after this war to benefit from victory for their own interests.

The Arab peoples who are fighting today for their national emancipation, and want to enjoy ~~xxxx~~ free and happy life in all the parts of the Arab world - being ~~xxxx~~ included in the present struggle against Fascism - should look to the Allied policy after the war and its relations with the Arab countries, from the point of view of the struggle of these forces of freedom, and pay attention to the danger of the reactionery elements, as regards the rightful Arab problem. This attention will be of no use to the Arabs if they do not struggle in order to obtain clear and definite declarations promising the independence of their countries and their freedom. No doubt, if the Allied policy after the war will include such/declarations to the Arabs will be one of the important factors to realize the well desired Arab unity, as the Allied admission of the right of the Arabs in their claims, will give this question an official character

which cannot be ignored after the war.

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ANNADIM NEWSPAPER.....SEPTEMBER 15, 1943

Subject: ZIONISM AND PALESTINE'S ARABISM.

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Translation: Under these hard circumstances the Zionists are having no slackening in their continued wrongdoing and in the following up of unfounded dreams which flashed in the minds of some of them: They aroused the question of the Zionist National Home, without appreciating the present situation. They should have rather been more peaceful and calm, and get rid of their stupidity, as the Arabs have given them the most striking examples for they have dislooked this question temporarily, and are cooperating with the Allies sincerely until the time when the forces of freedom will defeat the barbarous forces of darknes.....

Yes, the Zionists are having no slackening in ~~not~~ letting us hear their voices, emitted here and there, ~~not~~ claiming the Arabic Palestine as a National Home for them.... Palestine's whose Arabism ~~has~~ ~~never~~ not been ignored but by the Zionists.....and nobody approved them but their followers (tails)..... Palestine's Arabism, therefore, is ~~an~~ undoubted fact, and the Zionist false claim is an undoubted fact too.....^{as} And the Arabs are not afraid from the Zionists' exclamations, and they ~~not~~ fear the false stories which the Zionists are relating to prove their ~~right~~ imaginary right in Palestine. Palestine is an integral part of the Arab countries, and the Arabs' clinging to it is increasing in strength daily; and the falseness of the Zionist claim is being discovered from moment to moment; ~~their~~ hopes are frustrated and ~~their~~ dreams unrealized..... They can talk whatever they like, they can cling to illusions but Palestine will remain for the Arabs because it is Arabic.....and the Arabs will ~~abundant~~ this ~~part~~ dear part of their country and they will go on struggling till the end of ends, in order to keep it for themselves... despite the Zionists.....

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AZZAMAN NEWSPAPER..... SEPTEMBER 17, 1943

Subject: THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND MR. CORDELL HULL'S SPEECH.

Translation: In the time that the Democracies are winning brilliant victories in the theatres of war, whether considering Italy's surrender, or Germany's continued defeats on the Eastern Front, or Japan's failures in the Pacific islands, we are glad to listen to responsible men from the Allies assuring/ from time to time of their sincere decision to follow a world policy built on the basis of high principals, of moral, and ~~admitting~~ recognising the price of liberty, ~~respect~~ and the respect of the individual, and that of nations, whatever their races, religions, modes of living and educations.

Lately we heard some extracts from Mr. Cordell Hull's speech through the radio, which speech was broadcast on Monday last, in which he gave us the principles on which America's foreign policy has been built.

Mr. Cordell Hull disclosed that the Democracies' victory is now a well established fact, especially after Italy's surrender and the defeat of the ~~xxx~~ smaller nations those satellites of the Axis, and Germany's and Japan's dislocation. Despite this, Mr. Cordell Hull called on the United Nations for the necessity of doubling their efforts in order to vanquish Germany and Japan definitely. In his point of view, the ~~most important thing to do~~ most important thing to do in order to defeat the Axis, and after that defeat is to appreciate the necessity of following a foreign policy built up on mutual help between the nations, and on the basis of high moral, ~~and~~ right, and justice, instead of the policy of intrigues, treason, and the devouring of the weak by the strongest.

What pleased us in the speech of Mr. Cordell Hull, was his belief that the roots of the world problems are lying in ~~the~~ education and ~~international~~ moral, before all. As long as the nations ~~do not~~ not put down international laws of moral, which will be sacred and respected, no peace and quiet can ~~be reached~~ last in the world; and the humanity would never reach its ~~high~~ noble aims. Politics, therefore, should come out of its error, and get rid of old methods, If not the war will never cease, and victory in this war will ~~not be worth while~~ not be worth while. Therefore, the essential cause of the war is/psychological moral one. If this cause ceases to exist, all the political, economical and social problems are solved. There should be laws ~~and~~ moral ~~xxx~~ agreed upon ~~among~~ among the nations, which will be sacred by all, as is the case ~~xxx~~ among individuals. There should be a cooperation among all in order to respect these laws, and that moral, and to beat anybody who tries to contravene them.

In this spirit Mr. Cordell Hull enumerated six principles ~~of~~ for America's foreign policy, hoping that the ~~xxxx~~ nations all over the world would ~~be~~ act according to these principles after this war. Here we are translating them, in spirit and not in words:

1- To act according to the principle of self-determination as regards all the nations, on the condition that all of these nations should be ready to bear States' responsibilities.

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(Continued)

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2- To act according to the principle of equality in law and before the law, among nations, no matter if they are ~~xxxxxxx~~ big or small.

3- To act according to the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs of any State. For the States are free in their internal ~~xxxxxxx~~ affairs, whether political or economical, or social, as long as their behaviour does not harm the rights of other States.

4- To act according to the principle of "equal opportunity" to all States in commerce and economy.

5- To act according to the principle of mediation ~~in to solve~~ political problems; and refer to the international court to solve ~~problems~~ ^{political} ~~xxxxxxx~~.

6- To act according to the principle of "Social Security", and the collaboration of all the States in punishing those who contravene the international laws.

Mr. Hull sincerely assures that these principles are indispensable for the relations between the States after victory is won, and ~~the~~ wounds that humanity has suffered in this war are cured, so that humanity would avoid the misery of other wars in the future.

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We believe that the Arabs ~~xxxxxxx~~ in ~~xxx~~ different countries, are welcoming these principles and those of America's foreign policy. All we hope is to see that these principles are applied for all the nations of the world, including the Arab countries, without exception. We do not doubt as regards the good intention of Mr. Hull (considering that he is speaking in the name of the U.S.A. Government) towards ~~in~~ all the Arab countries. Despite the fact that America's ~~attitude~~ ^{attitude} towards the independent Arab countries ~~is~~ was and still is friendly, we still hope that America's foreign policy would not be affected by the Zionist propaganda, concerning Palestine's future; especially as we heard that the Zionist political movement is a hostile and reactionary one, and does not differ from ~~xxx~~ Nazism and Fascism. All we want and hope is that the principle of self-determination be applied ~~in~~ by the original inhabitants of Palestine: This is the well-known Wilsonian principle, which Mr. Hull has made the first one of the principles of America's foreign policy. Palestine's original inhabitants have expressed their opinion concerning their future destiny before the Kang-Krein committee, and on several other occasions afterwards. The inhabitants of the Arab countries expressed their opinion concerning Palestine, considering that it is a natural part of the Arab world, connected with the other Arab countries by natural deep relations.

We hope that these principles be applied in the Arab countries of North Africa, as these countries have suffered very much from oppression ~~xxx~~ by the ~~xxx~~ Italians. No doubt these countries have suffered terrors in this war and presented to the Allies all the help they could offer, so they have been deserving to be treated according to the principle of self-determination to which Mr. Hull is calling. At last we are very optimistic regarding the future of mankind, and we hope that liberty, justice and peace will be established among the nations and individuals. Despite the fact that Wilson's principles have not been applied completely in the past, we hope to see the leaders of the Allied Nations, acting to apply them, Wilson's successor in front of them.

Baghdad, September 25, 1943.

Strictly Confidential

No. 471

Subject: Anti-Zionist Press Campaign at Baghdad Continues.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch no. 464 of September 17, 1943, regarding the current anti-Zionist press campaign at Baghdad, and to forward herewith excerpts from an article of September 17, 1943, in Al-Iraq, commenting on the Prime Minister's statement on Zionism (quoted in the despatch under reference), and from two articles in Saut Al-Shaab, a minor Baghdad paper, whose wild talk is indicative of the extremes of language to which the local anti-Zionists sometimes go. Saut Al-Shaab's articles were entitled "The Plans of the Zionists Are Cancer in the Body of the Arab Countries" (September 15) and "Zionism - An Impending Threat to the Arab Countries" (September 17).

Many Iraqis in Baghdad now believe that the anti-Zionist press campaign - now apparently tapering off - was designed to be an answer to the Zionist publicity in the United States. The Iraqi Legation at Washington forwards to Baghdad copious clippings of Zionist articles appearing in American papers, and it is asserted that Nuri Pasha felt that his restraint of the past two years in keeping the Palestinian problem out of the local papers could now be given up in the face of the extreme provocation afforded by the Zionist publicity in the United States.

For the Department's confidential information, it is known to the Legation that the Baghdad British Embassy Public Relations Section maintains a complete file of pro-Zionist press clippings from the United States, and it is maintained by various - and numerous - Iraqi contacts of the Legation that the Embassy has made no effort to temper the violence of the present anti-Zionist campaign. In fact, the assertion is even made that the anti-Zionist campaign, which develops in the popular mind largely into an anti-American-Zionist campaign, fits easily into a convenient scheme of things for the British, in which the United States is labelled as pro-Zion while Britain is pro-Arab. This thesis is not a new one to the Legation, which has heard it expounded by many Iraqis in similar form in the past.

Respectfully yours,

Daniel Gaudin, Jr.
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

File No. 800 340.1
REG:mph
Enclosures: As stated.

Enclosure to despatch no. 471 of September 25, 1943
from the American Legation, Baghdad.

SOURCE: AL-IRAQ

"Can anybody deny that the problem of Palestine was and still is the unhealing wound in the being of the security of the Near East? Is it right that this problem should remain a cause of troubles and difficulties and a challenge arousing the millions of Arabs and Muslims in the world? Is it magnanimous and just that the Zionists should deny and suppress the rights of the Arabs to their own country? Is it possible for peace to reign in the Arab East as long as Palestine remains a breeding place for Zionism to threaten it and the surrounding Arab countries? They resort to brute force and violence in their attempt to attain their desires... The arousing activities of the Zionists force the Arabs everywhere to fight it with all their might... Iraq and the rest of the Arab countries will fight the claims of Zionism in Palestine until this application is put an end to and the right is restored..."

SOURCE: SAUT AL-SHAAB

"The Plans of the Zionists Are Cancer in the Body of the Arab Countries."

"The hellish plans of the Zionists are cancer in the body of the Arab countries... As regards 'The Jewish National Home in Palestine' the Zionists own no such right more than the right of American Indians to America and of the Romans to Britain... The Jews occupied Palestine by aggression against its original inhabitants the Philistines, then Palestine was captured by the Chaldeans, the Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs successively. The Arabs remained and ruled the country for a longer period than that spent there by the Jews. Therefore, the Jews have no more right to Palestine than the Arabs... The idea of the Zionists to found a 'National Home' in Palestine is a satanic one aiming at robbing the rights of others in the Holy Land... Undoubtedly the Jews of Iraq disagree with the Zionists... The Allies ought to solve the Problem of Palestine finally so that peace may be restored to the land from where the Lord of Peace (Jesus Christ) preached to the world."

SOURCE: SAUT AL-SHAAB

"Zionism An Impending Threat to the Arab Countries"

"If Europe will be saved from Germany after the victory of the Allies, the Arab countries will fall shortly victim to the danger of Zionism. If the world is getting nearer to days of peace at the end of this war, the Arab World is nearing harder difficulties in the days of peace than during those difficulties and calamities the world faced during the war days. If the plans of the Zionists succeed and if Palestine is given to them as a 'National Home' for the Jews, we can say that those who pretend to give Palestine away are doing the Jews more harm than good. The

problem/

problem of Palestine will breed hatred between the Arabs and the Jews which will bring forth troubles and bloodshed, not only in the Holy Land but all over the Arab countries, where Jews are living now in peace, of such magnitude to eclipse those of the past as playthings... The establishment of Zionism in Palestine will either end in the annihilation of the Arabs by poverty and disease as a result of the existence of the Zionists among them or in the extermination of the Jews as a reaction against misleading and wrong policy.

"We know that the Temple of Solomon is ruined, that the Holy of Holies is defiled by the entrance of the Gentiles, that there is no High Priest, no burnt offering, no Aaronite and no Levite to serve in the House of the Lord. What then are the Zionists after in establishing a Jewish 'National Home'? Do they want to restore the Kingdom of Israel? If so, where are the tribes now, where are the descendants of David and will a descendant of the Tribe of Judah or one of the Tribe of Benjamin be their future king? What are the leaders of Christendom after in assisting the Zionists to restore the Jewish Kingdom? Do they want to belie or refute the sayings of the Holy Bible which said, 'This people will have no king and no kingdom any more'? Are not the Zionists the descendants of those who were shouting that Christ be crucified, saying: 'Let his blood be upon us and upon our children'? Let them suffer what they deserve. The Arabs are more merciful to them than the politicians of Europe or America. On whom will these 'wretched ones' live as parasites if they find themselves in a country where none others live but Jews? Hence, deceive not yourselves, Oh Ye Zionists, the Jews of the East are our brethren with whom we live in brotherly spirit and in peace. As regards Palestine the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs and its sacred things are common to all."

OUTPOST REPORT

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FROM: BAGHDAD OUTPOST

REPORT NO. 8

SEPT. 25, '43

SUBJECT: Anti-Zionist campaign in the Arab press; Arab Unity developments, etc. (cont.)

COUNTRY REPORTED ON: IRAQ

SUBJECT NUMBER: 1510

SOURCE AND DEGREE OF RELIABILITY: Noted as mentioned herewith.

CLASSIFICATION: Confidential

ENCLOSURES: Translations from the Arabic press: British Embassy transcript of a press conference.

NOTES: Prepared Sept. 25 for inclusion in weekend Diplomatic Pouch.
Copies supplied to American Legation, Baghdad. Original delivered unsealed to Legation as directed.

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Based on the definitions on Page 1 of IRG1, I am afraid that this report must be classified as "Information" rather than "Intelligence". I shall try to avoid drawing any conclusions, and will simply pass on whatever seems relevant to me among developments in the past week.

Firstly, the anti-Zionist and sporadically anti-Semitic campaign in the Arabic papers of Baghdad came to an end last week with the abruptness of the close of a Broadway vaudeville act, to which it bore many resemblances. And it was followed, after a brief pause for resetting the stage, by the arrival -- to fanfare -- of the featured artist of a new act, Colonel Newcombe. Colonel Newcombe's advance billing touted him, in the Arabic papers, as a good friend of the Arabs; a worker for Arab independence, and a man vitally concerned with the Palestine problem. It was frequently underlined that he came to Baghdad as an individual; that he had no official status as spokesman for any British view, etc.

The Colonel was unveiled at a ~~press conference~~ press conference held at Baghdad's Zia Hotel September 21. Attached to this report is a copy of an official transcript of the proceedings of this conference supplied me by F.J. Bradshaw, Acting Public Relations Attache of the British Embassy, at my request following the meeting. Also attached are two translations of one story which followed the meeting in a local paper, plus another translation of a second article. I did not attend this meeting because it was fairly apparent in advance that American representation could be of no value to us, and could possibly lead to some pretty tough sailing and unfortunate results -- if (as seemed most likely) the American representative were to be bombarded with questions and placed in the position of defending one view or another.

Colonel Newcombe lost no time in sounding his keynotes, after a preliminary reiteration that his views were purely personal. In brief, he said:

1. Great Britain is bound by the White Paper of May, 1939. It is the right of the Arab world to "force Britain to execute her obligations and her policy" (This statement not included in official transcript but reported by the press -- see "D")

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2. Zionist activity was pinned squarely on the coat-tails of America. (Of. official transcript: "I do not deny that you have cause for irritation. With the Zionists shouting and screaming all over America, it is natural to want to shout back....the more they shout, the more the people of Great Britain and America get tired of them.") Note that the same transcript quotes him as saying "Very many Jews, especially in England, accept the White Paper."

3. No mention is made anywhere of the Balfour Declaration or its official recognition.

4. From the conference has grown "spontaneously" a suggestion (Al Shihab, Sept. 23; translation attached) that "it is necessary to find an organization for the press in the Arabic political organizations in all the Allied countries, especially in the USA, in order to organize counterattacks against the Zionist attacks in the American newspapers. We believe that the American newspapers will open their columns to publish the Arabs' opinions..."

So much for chief developments in the campaign. Following incidents during the same period may throw additional light on the subject:

1. With the idea of including a reference (for information purposes) to Nuri Sa'id's statement on Zionism in a cable sent NY September 22, I called the US Military Censor here and asked him to call British censorship, to ask what matter might be transmitted out with regard to the anti-Zionist press campaign. Our censor reported he had been instructed to tell me to "Call Bradshaw at Embassy Public Relations" (!). I called Bradshaw, and he said that while Embassy was not, of course, censoring any such matter, Army Censorship had been referring such questions to the Embassy...and that while he would not of course presume to censor our cables, he would appreciate seeing what was being sent. I asked, as guidance, what he thought would be acceptable to Embassy. He reserved answer pending discussions, then when I suggested I'd send him a copy before cabling, for his remarks, he thanked me. A copy of the cable (which merely quoted Nuri's statement, ~~which~~ which I had previously been informed had cleared censorship in the form and identical text presented) ~~was sent Bradshaw, who had, meanwhile, via telephone suggested that I mention that the campaign was aimed at combatting Zionist agitation in the American press. (I said that I could make no such statement, inasmuch as none of the myriad articles of two weeks had so much as mentioned America...and further because I had no official knowledge that a Zionist campaign existed in the American press. I pointed out that I could quote no one but himself in ascribing such a motive to the campaign or in referring to an American press campaign. Hence the cable as sent for his approval, or inspection, said as a "Note Desk" that the press campaign was reported aimed at the US press to combat a reported ~~anti~~ Zionist campaign in the American press...)~~ Importance of all this preamble is that on receiving my cable, Bradshaw called to ask why I didn't include quotations from the newspaper articles in my cable to New York. I told him such quotations were completely un-newsworthy, being solely the unofficial rantings of a couple of Arabic editors in the middle of the Mesopotamian desert...that Nuri's statement had a modicum of news value because Nuri is Prime Minister.

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2. It is of interest that the day before Newcombe's conference appeared in the press, Bradshaw told me via phone that while the Embassy had nothing to do with the Colonel's press conference, he (Bradshaw) was going to send out the transcript to the press. Following day I called (after reading accounts of the conference) and mentioned this remark, asking if he could spare me a copy. Bradshaw said that "As a matter of fact, we didn't send it out, but we saw it and passed the first part of it for publication, but they've used it all." He said, however, that he could send me a copy -- which he did, by messenger. This copy was marked in blue pencil to show what had been passed for publication; I am similarly marking the attached copy. Section passed included all quoted references to America above.

3. Identification of America with the cause of Zionism, meanwhile, is being accomplished more and more, daily, through the chief means of Baghdad's news-transmission -- rumor. And curiously enough, most of these rumors run through the Jewish community. One of these rumors, told by a Jewish family to another Jewish resident, ran to the effect that "Roosevelt has settled the Palestine question in favor of the Jews, and the Baghdad press campaign is being carried on by Nuri Sa'id only to cover up." Another is to the effect that a Jewish representative called on the American Legation here and was assured by the Minister (!) to "never mind; don't worry; America is going to see to it that your rights are respected". Another (reported to me as heard among Moslem Iraqis) ran to the effect that Ali Jawdat had been barred from speaking in Washington, at a meeting of Jewish leaders to discuss Palestine's future. Another to the effect that Jawdat had been imprisoned for speaking out on the Arab cause in America. Another that he was being shipped out of the country for the same thing. Naturally, all these stories sound childishly simply...but they're not intended to impress an intelligentsia. Regardless of their original sponsorship, it is obvious that having them stem from the Jewish community aids the cause of whoever may wish to stir up Arab-Jewish antagonisms. FYI -- the rumors from the Jewish community cited have been related to me by a Jewish typist here, to whom they were repeated as gospel.

4. During a visit to this office last week, Bradshaw spontaneously told me at great length the following about the Baghdad anti-Zionist press campaign...:

That it was started here by Nuri Sa'id at the request of Ali Jawdat, to whom the Iraq government was sending six copies of every Arabic paper printed during the course of the campaign, for Jawdat's use in publicizing Iraq Arab points of view on Palestine...that it was ~~xxx~~ official in nature, and that the papers were ~~xxx~~ called on to print the articles whether they liked them or not...that one paper refused to print one handout; was threatened, and then printed it with the lead "In accordance with the freedom of the press, we are printing the attached handout"...that the writer was fired and threatened with imprisonment for this act...(I have been unable to locate this story or verify the event)...that one newspaper printed one of the articles with a lead-off stating that the story was a transcript of a speech on Radio Baghdad of the previous day (which it was)...and was then called upon to re-run six copies of the edition with this line dropped out, in order that the six sent Jawdat would not reveal the fact that the article was government-issued (Radio Baghdad is an official government station), but would seem to be spontaneous editorial comment.

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Gillespie Evans

PRESS CONFERENCE

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Held by Colonel Newcombe at the Zia Hotel, Baghdad, at 12.00 hours on Tuesday, 21st September, 1943.

Present:- Mr. F.J. Bradshaw, Acting Public Relations Attache.
Al Saiyid Jabran Molkun, Proprietor of Al Akhbar.
Al Saiyid Hussain Rahal, Representative of the Directorate General of Propaganda.
Al Saiyid Razouk Ghanam, Proprietor of Al Iraq.
Al Saiyid Musa Habib, of Al Jihab.
The Editor of Rai Al Am.
Lieutenant Binstead, of The Iraq Times.

Colonel Newcombe said that he thought it would be wiser that what he said should not go outside Iraq, because he was going on to Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and the people in these countries would rather hear what he had to say direct, after he had seen their own people.

Al Saiyid Musa Habib pointed out that Iraqi newspapers went out of the country.

Colonel Newcombe then said that this did not matter, as long as what he said was not sent to news agencies for publication in foreign newspapers.

He then said: "Another very important thing is that everything I say is entirely my own personal opinion. My views on Arab unity are unofficial and entirely personal."

He then read the following statement, written by him that morning: "The life of Great Britain and of its people depends on sea communications being secure. Therefore for 200 years we have tried to keep peace from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Aden, and equally the route from Haifa to Basra, must be secure. As we depend on world trade, this security helps the world equally with the nations on either side of these routes, who are equally guaranteed security from outside aggression. Mussolini could not attack Egypt in 1935, because Great Britain occupied the Suez Canal, so he sent for Abyssinia instead. In our own interests, therefore, we protect smaller powers on these routes from aggression, to their benefit as well as our own, and because of that security they are on a 3 per cent instead of a 6 or 8 per cent basis financially." Colonel Newcombe here remarked that he was trying to bring out that our hold on these routes was not only a credit but also a considerable debit to us. He continued his statement:

"We have a treaty with Egypt to secure the safety of the Suez Canal, and for our own and world trade secure the safety of Egypt from outside outside aggression, and in peace time we do not interfere with internal affairs. Similarly, we have a treaty with Iraq on the same lines. In the future in Arab countries we must secure routes for our road from Haifa to Basra. It will be for the Great Powers to decide after the war the share every power takes in this duty, which is fundamental. Once this security is provided, the countries on either side of the route should settle their own political affairs. If they wish to unite out economically, and later on politically, it is for them to make out their

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own plans on a common cause, realistic lines. A similar treaty to that made with Iraq or Egypt could be amplified to guarantee the safety of communications and other advantages.

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Now we come to Palestine. Great Britain is bound by the White Paper of May 1939. It is on Great Britain's good faith that the future of Palestine and neighbouring countries depends. That White Paper is and must be the foundation of British help, and therefore must be the ~~xxxx~~ foundation of Arab unity, those who stir up anti-Jewish feelings in the press and elsewhere are, in my view, the enemies of Arab unity, because the White Paper makes it clear that the sooner Arab and Jews cooperate, the sooner Palestine will be independent. Very many Jews, especially in England, accept the White Paper. The Arabs, therefore, should cooperate with the reasonable Jews and ignore the extremists. This will speed up the independence of Palestine. Arabs and Moslems have always professed tolerance of Jews in history; let the Arabs prove it now, and remember what persecutions the Jews have had in recent years. Let Arab energy go towards construction in their own countries, and to help finish the war. Any energy spent in futile discussion on Palestine is against Arab unity. I am very anxious this point of view should be emphasised. I have been working on this Arab unity question for 38 years and I have to talk to reasonable people, Members of Parliament and others, in England, to put the cause before them, so that they can understand what I am talking about. Directly you talk to reasonable people, if you talk with prejudice they will not listen to you any more. They discount all you say, and you discredit your views, which may be perfectly sensible in other ways. But if you talk with common sense they say, 'Right, this is quite fair, so the rest of what you say on the Arab side is probably sensible.' For your own interests I think it is terribly important to get that understood by the people here. I do not deny that you have cause for irritation. With the Zionists shouting and screaming all over America, it is very natural to want to shout back, but I am sure it is wiser not. The more they shout, the more people in Great Britain and America get tired of them."

Colonel Newcombe then offered to answer any questions that might be put to him.

Al Saiyid Rasouk Ghanam asked what Colonel Newcombe thought about the fate of Syria and the Lebanon in the matter of Arab unity, with regard to France.

Colonel Newcombe: "It is literally not for me to say at all. As regards France, that will be settled, surely, by the Powers after the war. After all, those communications are all that are of importance to the Great Powers, whatever they are France, or America, or Great Britain, or who they are. If I were American, I should say to France: 'Syria and the Lebanon has nothing to do with communications. By all means take your share of responsibility for making communications safe.' But what the people want in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, or Iraq is their business and not that of France or England, provided that communications are safe. It is not, therefore, for Great Britain to tell France to move out. You may put it another way. We are bound by our White Paper to Palestine to give her independence as soon as it is conceivably possible between Arab and Jew. We hope that will not, at least, take another five years."

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Directly we move out of Palestine, what excuse can France give continuing her mandate in Syria? But it is not for me to say, and it is not for Great Britain to say, it is for the Great Powers, and perhaps America most usefully, because they are speaking quite independently. It is very difficult for us to suggest such a thing to France. It is not difficult for America. But do not ask Great Britain to tell France to move out, and do not ask me, because I am not going to!"

In answer to a question from Musa Habib, Colonel Newcombe said that he thought the question of Syria would be settled automatically.

Musa Habib then referred to the Atlantic Charter.

Colonel Newcombe: "I think you will find it will come. Common senses will overcome the tradition in which France considers it her duty to protect the Christians against those 'very wicked Moslems'."

Colonel Newcombe then described how he had come out on board ship with a party of 11 Iraqi students, who had been four years in England. Like many other Iraqis they were talking politics and saying that nothing was being done because the ministers were so idle. He told them "for God's sake shut up". He had a conference with them every morning. They discussed what was being done in Iraq on various questions such as agriculture, irrigation, health, etc., and what needed to be done. He told them to cut out the talk, and when they got home to try and form private committees among the people and get things done, pointing out that similar methods were used in England. Many improvements were needed, and very often it was not a question of money but of getting the right people. They should preach this idea, and try to give people something to think about, and still more important something to act about, instead of all this rather harmful gas. The discussion had been carried out in a great spirit of goodwill and he considered that they had been helpful.

Al Saiyid Musa Habib asked how the Atlantic Charter was going to be applied to the Arab countries.

Colonel Newcombe said that they had all heard many rumours about what post-war reconstruction was going to be. He knew that very definite plans were being worked out by the Great Powers. There had been a great deal of talk of forming regions - say one region of the Scandinavian countries, with perhaps one of the Great Powers, another region for Central Europe, and so on. As far as the Arab countries were concerned, they would form a region if that system was adopted. Nothing had been published or was known in England before he left.

Al Saiyid Hussain Rahal recalled that Mr. Churchill had referred to these plans.

Colonel Newcombe said Yes, there was no questions but that something was being done. He considered that the real fault of the old League of Nations was that it did not realise that you cannot have law without power. You have got to have power to enforce law. If it is a question of a thief, you have to have police to arrest him. The League of Nations forgot that very simple fact before, and so they failed.

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Referring again to Arab unity, he said that he had been mixed up in it for very many years, and it was not for him to give any advice at all. He had his own ideas, but it was for them to work it out for themselves. If we were asked for help we would give it, but we were not going to barge in.

Al Saiyid Hussain Rahal said that the Arab countries believed that if the Great Powers wanted Arab unity to be achieved, it would be achieved.

Colonel Newcombe said that Arab unity could not be achieved at once, it might take 20 years, but it was for the Arabs to work it out.

Saiyid Hussain Musa said that he thought that Palestine, Syria, Trans-Jordan and Iraq were more ready for unity than other Arab countries, even at once. They had the same difficulties, the same mental outlook and had all been part of the same Ottoman Empire for centuries. What Colonel Newcombe had said more applied to Egypt, but these countries were more ready.

Colonel Newcombe said that then it was for the Arabs to draw up a sensible, practical scheme and take their own initiative.

Al Saiyid Hussain Musa said that Syria had had difficulties with Turkey over Alexandretta and felt the need for unity with other Arab states to give them more power to defend themselves, so he thought it is not essential to wait for years. The case of Egypt and even the Yemen was different, but these countries were more ready.

Colonel Newcombe: "We all know that they are perfectly ready for Arab unity, but they have got to think out rather carefully how they were going to do it." It was going to mean more than just writing it out on paper and saying they would be united tomorrow morning.

Al Saiyid Hussain Musa said that these countries felt it was essential for them to unite.

Colonel Newcombe said that nobody doubted that, but that did not mean that they had not got some work to do to make it practical. What they had to do was to make their scheme sensible and practical and the sooner they made such a scheme the easier it would be to put it through. He had said he thought that communications and the White Paper for Palestine were the essential foundations, and if they accepted those foundations they had something to build on.

Al Saiyid Hussain Musa said that they accepted this. They were to be in good relations with the Great Powers, especially Britain. That was the foundation.

Colonel Newcombe. "That is all I have given you. I purposely kept away from anything that was your business and not anything to do with me."

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The following is the statement made by Colonel Newcombe at the press-men's conference held on Tuesday morning (September 21st 1943) at the Elia Hotel, Baghdad, where he is staying.

My opinions concerning the Arabic Union are quite personal and do not represent any official point of view and therefore desire my statements be taken on the following bases.

It is known that the life of the British population depended on the safe maritime communications and thereby we have strived for the past two hundred years to have the seas open via Gibraltar, Malta, Suez Canal as far as the Indian Ocean in addition to the land route between Haifa and Basrah. And since the life of the British population depended on the world wide commerce therefore the peace and safeguard of these lines benefited the other races. For this reason we have endeavored to defend the nations lying on these routes. Colonel Newcombe gave an example that Mussolini failed to attack Egypt in 1935 because Britain controlled the Suez Canal, he therefore, struck Abyssinia.

It will be assumed that our interests demand our defending all small states lying on these routes from any outside attack and such small states have already gained from this defence to the extent that some have managed to borrow at the rate of 3% interest instead of 6% when they wanted to carry out economic and constructional projects in their countries.

We have made a treaty with Egypt to ensure the safeguarding of the Suez Canal to enable us secure world trade and keep Egypt away from any attack, without interfering in her internal affairs. This treaty had its effect on cementing the financial support and enabled her contract a loan at 3%. I have already stated that Britain has two route of communications between Haifa and Basra - airmail and overland - and it is essential that these routes are safe; after the war, the safeguard of these routes would be as decided upon by the nations that would allot the shares and duties in doing so without the slightest impediment.

The duty in the present upkeep is enshouldered by Britain doubtless of the fact that the small nations lying on these routes have every right with the co-operation of other nations to state her needs freely and if she does not want to be taken economically and then politically then it will left to her to make her designs on this basis jointly.

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The two treaties signed between Britain and Egypt and Iraq can be supported in such a form that it would ensure safe communications for Britain and all other world nations in the same way it would defend any outside attack, thus it would be in a position to obtain a loan for handling any economical and constructional schemes with at a very low interest.

Colonel Newcombe then referred to the Palestine affair saying "Britain is bound by the purport of the White Letter issued in May 1939 and the Arabs have the right to force Britain execute her obligations and her policy. There is no doubt that the future of Palestine and the stated adjacent depended on the good intentions on Britain and the fulfilment of her promises.

This white letter is the foundation of the British policy and upon it rests the execution of this policy. I consider all those who provoke the anti-jewish feeling, either in the local papers or otherwise, are the enemies of the Arabic Union since the provisions of the White Letter are quite clear and defined that the collaboration between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine would bring the independence of Palestine earlier.

There exist in Palestine as well as in Britain who adhere to the principles of the White Letter and it is therefore in the interest of the Arabs to co-operate with them and ignore all radicals for this, as I had already stated, would ensure an early date whereby Palestine would obtain her independence.

History bears witness that the Arabs have very well treated the Jews so it is upto the Arabs to follow the example of their grandfathers, and prove that.

It is desired from all the Arabs, in all their regions, to do their utmost in building their country and participating in ending the war, and I tell them that any effort made in trivial disputes would be of no avail and wasted and of no gain for the war.

After finishing from expressing his opinion, which he stated personal and without official form, Colonel Newcombe invited all newspaper-men who attended the conference to ask him any question. Sayid Razook Ghannam, proprietor of Al Irak daily asked enquiring what would be the situation of Syria and Libanon towards the Arabic Union and whether France's situation would have any effect on this?

Colonel Newcombe stated that the Arabs' regions would design their own aims for adoption after the war in conjunction with

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the Arabic Union and I very much doubt whether France would interfere, neither would Britain. In any case, in view of her special position, America would have an effective word in this matter.

The meeting was then dispersed after certain elucidations were requested by the audience on certain matters that were included in his statements.

The source of this article is Saut-Al-Ahali newspaper of September 22nd 1943.

PS. The same article was published by Al Shihab, Al Zaman, Al Akhbar, Al Iraq and Al Rai-Al-Am.

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AL-SHIHAB NEWSPAPER.....SEPTEMBER 23, 1945 **CONFIDENTIAL**

Subject: COMMENTS ON NEWCOMBE'S DECLARATIONS - PROPAGANDA AND THE CAUSE OF THE ARAB UNITY.

Translation: We have published in our yesterday's edition the declarations made by Col. Newcombe, who is the new guest to Baghdad, to the newspapers representatives, during a conference he has had with them. The talk with him ~~has~~ dealt with many aspects of the Arab problem and the Arab countries' affairs, especially Iraq, after this war.

As these points which were discussed are of vital importance and necessitate study and attention, we would like to mention them on this occasion.

Col. Newcombe pointed ~~that~~ out that ~~the~~ attacks ~~which~~ are carried out from time to time here and there regarding the Palestinian question, and that voices are heard as happened in the U.S.A., emitted by the Zionist elements, as lately. But he assured that these voices and these attacks ~~do~~ do not find a way to the ears of the British responsible men, and that these are not giving these voices any importance, but they find in them something that leaves a bad impression on this question, and help to delay the settling of this problem.

Col. Newcombe pointed out that that he hopes that the Arabs would concentrate their efforts to serve their cause by acting according to wisdom and without being dragged by their feeling. There is no doubt that we agree with Col. Newcombe's opinion, and assure that the Arabs did never want to be diverted from these principles, or not to be deliberate, or disregard facts, in serving their cause. They did never want to stir up ~~any~~ feeling and originate disturbances in the efforts they ~~are~~ making to make to serve their cause which it has been a clear one.

It is important ~~that~~ that Col. Newcombe should point out that the voices that are emitted here and there do not find any way to the ears of those who are responsible for the Arab question. We know that these voices are now emitted by the Zionist elements who are organizing large-scale attacks in order to obtain the Zionist national home.

In the same time that we are feeling very satisfied by the declarations of Col. Newcombe, we ~~are~~ ~~also~~ should see, we Arabs, that the Zionists do not have a free way to emit their voices, for we should follow them by emitting our voices in the world, especially those nations who will have their word in the new world after the war. But we do not intend to copy others by trying to make noise and rumours and disturbances, ~~we~~ but we will try to explain our question and make it clear ~~in a logical way~~ in a logical way, taking into consideration actual facts, and consulting wisdom in every step we take.

CONFIDENTIAL

AL-AZHAB NEWSPAPER..... SEPTEMBER 23, 1947 **CONFIDENTIAL**

.(Continued)

This induces us to suggest that it is necessary to find an organization for the press in the Arabic political organizations in all the Allied countries, especially in the U.S.A., in order to organize counter-attacks against the Zionist attacks in the American newspapers. We believe that the American newspapers will open their columns to publish the Arabs' opinions and their arguments in the support of their cause, taking into consideration that these papers are publishing the Zionist opinions not for the reason that they confirm them, but because, by so doing they want to write every opinion proposed to them, in accordance with the freedom of the press to write whatever they like, even if they do not confirm our support it.

In tomorrow's edition we will deal with the question of the Arab Unity and its relation in the post-war reorganization of the new world, especially the smaller nations, on the occasion of Col. Newcombe's talk about this question in the course of his declarations.

OWI

CONFIDENTIAL

SAUT AL-AHALI

September 23rd, 1943

CONFIDENTIAL

During his meeting with the pressmen on Tuesday, Colonel Newcombe referred to the tirades propagated on a wide scale by the Zionists in the states against the Arabs and asserted that such tirades and disturbances although the Zionists voices that increase in this form in America and/or any other region would definitely have no effect on the responsible British officials. Those officials realise that this question cannot be solved by screaming and unwise steps. The Colonel further affirmed that it is within the power of the Arabs to serve the Palestine cause with prolific work and organized movements and all that is reasonable.

It is of no doubt that all the charges made by the Zionists in the United States of America have no official bearing and it is within the capacity of the Arabs to organize in the American papers steps to counter-attack these tirades and clarify their intentions. To make the American public opinion understand their affair and their right in Palestine and exhibit the real Zionists National Unity.

Colonel Newcombe later explained another point of view of post-war world planning and the Arabic nations' share of this and stated that this planning is a subject under minute study by hundreds of committees representing large nations. The object of this study is to reach the best measures to be adopted by the small states to obtain unity and any other form of groups serving the aims of the new peace. This world planning will comprise the northern european states and the Balkans etc.,

The Arab States' part in post-war planning is that they should limit from now their aims and state their problems and defective points required to be treated; also constructional matters and economic schemes. He also pointed out the urgency of planning such construction from now so as to execute them as immediate as circumstances would permit after the war thus rendering a great service in the amelioration of the Arab states, helping at the same time to carry out the projects for their unity.

CONFIDENTIAL

SAWT AL-AHALI NEWSPAPER.....September 23, 1943

Subject: OTHER STATEMENTS MADE B-Y COLONEL NEWCOMBE.

Translation:

CONFIDENTIAL

Col. Newcombe, in his talk to the newspapers' correspondents yesterday, pointed out to the large-scale campaign carried by the Zionist elements in the U.S.A. against the Arabs. He assured that this campaign and those rumours, and those voices of the Zionists that are emitted in such a way in America, or in any other state, will not ~~be able to~~ find their way to the ears of ~~the~~ Britain's responsible men, for those are seeing that Palestine's problem cannot be settled by mere shouting and other means which do not denote any sense or wisdom. He then assured that the Arabs are able to solve the Palestinian question by fruitful work, ~~and~~ organized action, practical reasoning and all that is brought about by wisdom and good reasoning. There is no doubt that the Zionists campaign in the U.S.A. does not represent any official view. Therefore, the Arabs are able to counterattack them in the American newspapers, stressing their point of view, acquainting the American public opinion with their problem and their rights in Palestine, and expose the reality of the Jewish National Home.

Col. Newcombe then reviewed another side of the post-war reorganization, and the fate of the Arab countries, saying that this reorganization is still being studied by hundreds of conferences representing greater nations. This study aims at ~~finding out~~ defining the best systems ~~needed~~ needed by the smaller nations to make unions of them, or any other kind of united blocks, which will serve the aims of the peace. This system will include Northern Europe and the Balkans, and other countries.

As regards the part of the ~~Arab~~ Arab states in this ~~plan~~ post-war plan, he said that, in his opinion, the Arab should define it since now, by defining their problems and the points that are to be dealt with, such as construction, economy, ... He found that there is an urgent need to ~~lay~~ lay the foundations of this reconstruction from the present time, so that they may be completed the soonest possible after the war. This will be a great service to make important step ~~forward~~ forward in the various part of the Arab countries, which will help to realize the Unity plans.

OWI

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ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

AIR MAIL

OCT 23 1943

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

No. 97

To the

Officer in charge of the American Mission,
Baghdad.

The Acting Secretary of State encloses, for the
information of the Officer in charge of the American
Mission, a copy of a report transmitted to the Department
in strict confidence by the Office of Strategic Services,
regarding a visit to Baghdad by Colonel S. F. Newcombe.

Copies of this report have also been sent to
Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut, Cairo and Jidda.

Enclosure:

Report.

gjk

(COPIED:NE:RED)

CONFIDENTIAL

Cairo, Egypt.
Sept. 30, 1943.

Extract from letter from W.D. from Baghdad, dated Sept. 21, 1943.

A few days ago, by plane from Egypt and England, Colonel S. F. Newcombe arrived in Baghdad. Col. Newcombe, as you know, is one of the old "Lawrence Guard", was key man in the McMahon negotiations during the first War, Arab authority, author and adviser to the British Government. In reply to a direct question, he claims not to be "an official spokesman of the Foreign Office, but more as a private individual". However, he was flown out from London by Army plane to Cairo, and thence to Baghdad with other British officials - and while living here has been guest of Ambassador Cornwallis and Nuri Pasha, but living in the Zia Hotel.

My colleague had a talk with him over cocktails last evening, as well as a three-some luncheon with Tahsin Askari yesterday noon. He dined with Nuri last night.

I had breakfast with him this morning, and an hours talk on Arab Union, in the interests of which he said his current trip had been undertaken. He was all solicitous about the American viewpoint, but I listened rather than talked. However, when I did heartily agree with him on the necessity of putting an immediate stop to the wildfire of this anti-Jew turmoil of the past two weeks - he opened up. All through the hour I had been making mental notes of his declarations, but as we were leaving on appointments I got him to give me the papers he had in his pocket (and to which he had constantly referred) which I assume are what London handed him as the basis for his commitments, interviews, and missionary work in the Middle East.

The pages, he said, of course were not for publication, but because I had known the Palestine situation for so many years, he was anxious to have me read it and tell him what I thought. Would I take them, read them, and get them back to him in the next hour or so? I promised, raced to my typewriter, copied it all, and the enclosed is an exact duplicate. (Note by Cairo. Perhaps a deliberate method of getting the memorandum to Washington.)

..... At 9.30 this morning Col. Newcombe had a session with three Moslem leaders of Baghdad, an editor and two lawyers, in the lounge of the Zia. (Source was unofficially present, and reports the conversation as follows.)

The colonel told them he was one of four recently to leave London for different parts of the world to try to help straighten our misconceptions of British policy with peoples who should be their friends. His work - and for thirty years it has been his dream - is the Arab Union. That the White Paper policy is an ARAB solution to the Jewish-Arab problem, and that they must stop this anti-Zionist talk and Jew-baiting. (Cairo: this refers to violent radio and press campaign started in Baghdad, apparently with British approval, then suddenly stopped on orders from London, about Sept. 16) That the Zionists are not really a serious threat,

but

but largely talk - and if they are completely IGNORED it will, in time, all subside and die.

But the active part that the Arab must take now is to proclaim by radio, newspaper, and on every street corner these words: "Yes, England, we ACCEPT the White Paper. In good faith it has our support as a statement of British policy. And we expect you, and trust you, to carry it on and to carry it out. The White Paper! The White Paper!! The White Paper!!!" "Then," the Colonel continued, "when after the War at the Peace Table other powers have conflicting ideas, or America tries to make us renudiate it as an unfair solution for the Jew, we can say NO to America, and point to a sacred obligation which we have under our White Paper agreement with you." That was the gist of his plea.

From the three Moslems the replies came thick and fast. Principally these: "If the White Paper IS a statement of British Policy, then it is up to Britain to implement it and enforce its conditions, without asking us to cry out for it." "On the other hand, the White Paper entails great sacrifices on the part of the Arabs. We don't get twenty shillings to thatpound. We don't get even twelve shillings to the pound. Therefore it is very difficult for any responsible Arab sources to accept it, as you ask openly - only to be told a few years from now: 'No, it is going to be scrapped.'" Frankly, Colonel Newcombe, we have no confidence that it will be lived up to, any more than many of your other commitments have been, and we are watching for that five-year immigration period to expire to prove it. How can we believe that any of it is sincere, when before the ink is dry on the Atlantic Charter proclaiming the Allied peace aims as the Freedom of Peoples, General Smuts, the GREAT General Smuts who has more influence with Churchill and Roosevelt than any other man, makes his brilliant pro-Jewish speech about Palestine, which should be no concern whatever of his in South Africa."

"You say, Colonel, that you can do something to help us and to correct things if we will tell you. All right, we'll tell you. These are the reasons your White Paper isn't going to work: (1) In spite of your decrees, illegal immigration today is jumping the legal admissions another 50%. (2) Ben Gurion's Jewish Army threat. You laugh at Ben Gurion and Shertock and their claims and dreams. But the world laughed at Hitler too. (3) The frightening increase in the smuggling of arms. We don't say it is with British connivance, but at least there have been no effective British measures taken against it. And every Arab on earth believes this to be a fact - that IF the existing arms remain in the hands of Jews in Palestine until the Armistice, it is as sure as fate that they will be used against us. (4) Of the men recruited by the British in Palestine for this War, the Jews have been armed and trained and kept safely and comfortably home in Palestine, while the Arab boys were taken to the front, fought, were killed, wounded, and when brought back home are immediately disarmed."

"Ben

"Ben Gurion personally told our Belgian Consul here in Baghdad - and we invite you to call on him and confirm this - that the Jewish army which is being secretly armed will fight anybody, at the close of this War, who attempts to stand against an open Jewish immigration plan for an immediate 2,000,000 - to later reach 7,000,000, and this he claims is a modest compromise with those who demand 15,000,000 more Jews. When asked where Palestine was going to put that many human beings additional from any race, Mr. Ben Gurion replied that it would, of course, also involve Transjordan and Syria. And you tell us Zionist activity is of no importance?"

When asked about France and her claims in Syria, Col. Newcombe replied: "Oh yes, it wouldn't come very gracefully from Great Britain, of course, but we are arranging it to have the U.S. be the one to tell France to get out."

The interview broke up when the editor came through with "And look what the Jews, who can't be trusted anywhere in the world, have done to your own England." The Colonel blew sky-high, refused to talk any further, said he was not here to discuss such absurdities, received an apology, they shook hands, and walked out.

..... Later, Colonel Newcombe had a talk with Captain Baker, the American Military Attaché (who, by the way, was the highest ranking official American he could find here, as Minister Wilson left for the United States last week.)

Col. Newcombe spent almost the entire half hour in a concentrated effort to get Rigg to say that he would use all his influence in contact with American officialdom to promote "the only reasonable basis for post-War settlement of this Middle East problem" - namely, that America, without interference, will leave the decisions on this part of the world to Great Britain alone, - "to us who have been handling these problems here for so many years, and so, from experience of course, are best qualified to judge the right course."

"As a military man, Captain Rigg, you appreciate the necessity of having ONE supreme command. Two of us trying to direct a policy would only mean trouble. So we are sure that you will see the advisability of our running the show in this quarter. In London and en route, I have talked with a number of prominent Americans. They agree with us on this point and are passing the word along."

Note. Cairo evaluates this material as A-1.

CONFIDENTIAL

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Exact copy of document in the hands of Col. S. F. Newcombe, well-known figure in British Foreign Office, negotiations with the Arabs, on a visit (non official ?) in Baghdad, Sept. 20, 1943.

S F N
London.
1st April '43.

It is assumed that either Great Britain will undertake, as hitherto, the policing of the Seas, or that the Allied Nations will combine with sea and air power to police communications.

In either case, communications from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and to the Persian Gulf will require absolute safeguards, not only for British trade but also for world trade, and in the interests of the countries adjoining these routes.

The guarding for the Suez Canal is provided for by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

The guarding of the Haifa - Basra Route is necessary, including air transport.

The White Paper for Palestine is officially in force, but it enables any further settlement agreed between Arabs and Jews to be sympathetically considered.

Whilst it is reasonable that countries adjoining the Haifa Basra Route should enjoy full liberty of freedom in conducting their own affairs and in making whatever Federation or Confederation that may be agreed upon, without interference, - yet it must be recognized that Great Britain has spent vast sums in Armament and lost thousands of men in the last War and this War in enabling Arab States to be free now or later and in protecting them from Axis domination. However genuine or true may be the Arab cry for freedom and self-determination, the historical facts must be realized. Similarly the material development made in the last 25 years is due to financial security of British loans or of British prestige in finance. Even the Jewish prosperity in Palestine, though the money was provided by the Jews, the security and very essential armed force which made development possible, has been and is now provided by Great Britain.

During the War, and for some years afterwards, the provision of food and other necessities of life to the people will depend on the Middle East Supply Board.

No direct financial demands are made on Arab countries to pay for the financial or military security.

Great

Great Britain has, in fact, helped all Arab countries adjoining her sphere of influence, firstly by freeing them from Turkish rule, then by helping them to develop their countries by keeping the peace, an expensive item, by her financial prestige and by the experience of her administrators.

France, too, in a different way, has helped Syria.

The above must be understood by those Arabs who think that European powers have taken away their freedom. On the contrary, these Powers have in fact protected the unarmed Arab countries from spoliation.

The smallest needs of the Allied Nations, of Great Britain, may be summed up :-

(1) Safety of communications from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf; by land and air, including the transport of oil for strategic purposes.

(2) The responsibility of protecting the countries along these routes from outside aggression.

(3) Whilst the Palestine White Paper is officially in force and a reasonable solution, any settlement of consent between Arab and Jew will be welcomed.

(4) For some years after the War, Middle East countries will depend to some extent on the Middle East Supply Board to ensure the main necessities of life; hence economic conditions will COMPEL the smaller countries in their own interests to cooperate fully with the Allied Nations.

Subject to the above four principles, the first two being permanent, the latter being capable of settlement in a few years time, Arab countries should be able to join together or not as best suits their own interests whether in economic, cultural or political union, and each Arab country should now be enabled to send Representatives to an Arab Conference wherever held for open and free discussion.

This freedom should apply to Sheikhs on the Trucial Coast and all wishing to attend. Until such free discussion has been held at a Conference, no definite plan as to the future of Arab countries can be said to exist.

It is for Arabs and for no one else to think out and decide what they require, but with understanding of the practical needs of the Power or Powers who become responsible for safeguarding sea communications.

It may be that some such agreement as contained in the Anglo-Egyptian or Anglo-Iraq Treaties will suffice, but the first problem is world-wide, i.e., safety of communications and strategic needs for future protection; the second, what

do Arabs and other inhabitants of Arab countries want for the future.

When these objectives are clearly stated, the form of agreement is a natural and simple sequence.

Another way of putting the same problem is:

The Arab countries and the Allied Nations (or Great Britain in her pre-War capacity of Guardian of Sea Communications) have certain interests in common: and cooperation to some extent is essential. Arabs require freedom of government, but they also need strategic support and finance depends on strategic security. The Allied Nations (or Great Britain) require a safe right of way from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. How can we best cooperate?

CONFIDENTIAL

S F N
London.
July '43.

ARAB INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY
Suggestions for Post-War Settlement

I. General Nuri As Said proposes:-

- a. Syria, Lebanon, Palestine & Transjordan be reunited into one state.
- b. The people of that State to decide its form of Government.
- c. An Arab League to be formed: Iraq and Syria to join at once. Arab states can join later at will.
- d. The Arab League to have a permanent Council nominated by the member states and presided over by one of the Rulers of the States, to be chosen by the states concerned.
- e. The Arab Council shall be responsible for: Defence. Foreign Affairs. Currency. Communications. Customs. Protection of Minority rights.
- f. Jews in Palestine to have semi-autonomy; their own rural and urban district administration, including schools, health and police, subject to general supervision by the Syrian state (under international guarantee).
- g. Jerusalem to have a special Commission of three theocratic religions to ensure free access and worship.
- h. If required, Maronites in Lebanon to have a privileged regime.

II. The British Imperial view would appear to be:-

- (a) It is essential to the British Empire that communications from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf must be secure. It is assumed the Allied Nations will leave this function to Great Britain, as hitherto. The Suez Canal is protected by a Treaty between Britain and Egypt, and in fact, Egypt is herself protected from aggression by the same Treaty, adding to Great Britain's responsibility and giving Egypt security.

Similarly, such a Treaty would be essential with the Arab League to ensure the safety of the route Haifa to Basra, including air transport; this would be partly an asset, partly a debt to Great Britain.

The

The responsibility of protecting the Arab League from outside aggression is a debit to Great Britain, but is essential to the Arab League.

Great Britain would presumably require to have similar accommodations and rights for Troops and Air Stations as she has in Egypt to protect the Canal, at Haifa and along the route to Basra. There need be no more interference in the affairs of Syria, including Palestine, under such a Treaty than there is in Egypt or Iraq today.

- (b) Great Britain has the mandate for Palestine, and she is at present bound by her policy of the White Paper of 1939; Paras. 8 and 9 indicate that the object is self-government, which requires such relations between Arab and Jew as would make good government possible.

If agreement between Arab and Jew can be reached on the proposed Syrian State and Arab League, the above clauses will be fulfilled.

From the viewpoint of British policy, the following are points in the White Paper which would be met under this plan:-

Para. 10 (1) Commercial and strategic relations of Palestine with Great Britain can be equally established with the Arab League.

(2) If Arabs and Jews agree, it is assumed that the essential interests of each community will be safeguarded.

(3) (4) and (5). Owing to the War, these paragraphs of giving people in Palestine an increasing part in the Government of their country have not been fulfilled; that is no hindrance to joining Syria and Palestine.

(6) Recommendations regarding the Constitution of the Palestine state would be altered to Syrian State.

(7) Adequate provision for (1) the security of access to the Holy Places, (2) protection of different communities and special position of the National Home, (3) strategic requirements, would all be made with Syria and the Arab League.

(8) H.M.G. will do everything in its power to create such conditions as will create a State within 10 years. By cooperating in the present suggestion she will fulfill her promise.

Para. 14 (1) says that Jewish immigration in 5 years will bring the Jewish population up to about one third of the population of the country and thus allow some 75,000 in 5 years. L (a) and (b) are being adhered to as regards the number admitted.

(3) After

(3) After five years no Jewish immigrant will be allowed unless Arabs of Palestine acquiesce, and

(5) His Majesty's Government is satisfied that after five years they will not be under any obligation to facilitate the further development of the National Home by immigration, regardless of the wishes of the Arab population.

It therefore seems clear that the 1939 White Paper offers no obstacle to the formation of a Syrian State and Arab League. On the contrary, if Arabs and Jews can come to any agreement by such a State, it will speed up and facilitate the fulfilment of the White Paper.

A.M. Hyamson states in "Palestine, a Policy" (p. 197) - "with complete autonomy in matters of education, religion, personal status, social legislation and municipal government, with liberty to live their own lives, administer their own laws and develop their own culture, much if not all the Jewish National Home as envisaged by Ahad Ha'am and others would be attained. A. M. Hyamson represents the non-political Zionist viewpoint of very many responsible English and American Jews.

The French view can scarcely be stated until France is free to speak. But just as France and Great Britain smoothly cooperate on the Suez Canal, it should be possible to cooperate on the Haifa to Basra route: it may be that Allied Nations, including America, will share the responsibilities with their assets and also their debits hitherto undertaken by Britain, in which case France would no doubt join. Or America may share the responsibility. Or Great Britain may be left to carry on as before. But just as we came to an agreement with France in 1904 over Morocco, we can do so over Syria.

America may not share in the undertaking.

The fundamental points are: -

- (1) Arabs want as much independence as is possible with security.
- (2) Jews want their own autonomy as defined by Mr. Hyamson, and this is practical.
- (3) Allied Nations in general and Great Britain in particular require safety of strategic communications from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Great Britain wants to give freedom to Arab and Jew, provided the spirit of the White Paper is not broken.

If all the Allied Nations wish to cooperate, they may do so after agreement at the Post-War Conference.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

AIR MAIL

October 26, 1943

No. *100*

To the

Officer in charge of the American Mission,
Baghdad.

The Acting Secretary of State encloses, for the strictly confidential information of the Officer in charge of the Mission, a copy of a memorandum prepared under date of August 31, 1943, by Colonel Harold B. Hoskins, setting forth King Ibn Saud's reaction to the proposal that the latter enter into discussions with Dr. Chaim Weizmann for the purpose of seeking a solution of the basic problems affecting Palestine.

Copies of the memorandum have also been sent to Jidda, Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut, and Damascus.

Enclosure:

Memorandum,
August 31, 1943.

gpk

MEMORANDUM

Cairo, August 31, 1943.

(1) In accordance with Secretary Hull's directive of July 7, 1943, I have visited Riyadh and put to His Majesty King Ibn Saud the question requested as to whether he would enter into discussions with Dr. Chaim Weizmann or some representative selected by the Jewish Agency for the purpose of seeking a solution of the basic problems affecting Palestine acceptable to both Arabs and Jews.

(2) During the week in which the King considered the matter I saw him daily. In long conversations he voluntarily outlined fully and frankly his ideas on various subjects. The fact that he could talk to me directly in Arabia, often without any one else present, allowed him, he said, to be more frank than would otherwise have been the case since his best interpreters are not Saudi Arabians by birth. He said he was most anxious to have the President and the State Department know as nearly first hand as possible his ideas and he welcomed a chance to tell them to some one specially sent from Washington who was going back there directly. I therefore had only to be a good listener and make very few comments since he carried on ninety-five percent of the conversation.

(3) His conversations, of which I made full notes, covered the following general subjects:

(a) His domestic problems including his pressing need for silver coins and for an additional two hundred motor cars, both items to be available before the next pilgrimage which begins about the latter part of November.

(b) His relations past and present with various foreign powers.

(c) His relations with each of his neighboring states and his frank estimates of the various political figures in power there.

(d) His ideas on Arab federation. On this subject I wrote a memorandum of our conversation, with a summary of his ideas as I understood them, that I submitted to His Majesty and to which I received his specific approval.

(4) As from my daily conversations with the King I became increasingly impressed with the certainty of his refusal to meet Dr. Weizmann personally, I thought it advisable to develop more specifically an alternative question to which there might be a favorable response. This second question was as follows: If the King will not meet Dr. Weizmann himself, will he appoint a representative who might meet elsewhere than in Riyadh, perhaps even outside the country, in Cairo, for instance, with Dr. Weizmann or his representative?

(5) At

(5) At the end of a week the King gave me verbally his answers to the two questions I had put to him and in both instances they were clear and categorical refusals. He expressed again great appreciation at my having been sent to see him and outlined in a most friendly way his reasons in detail for his refusals. These reasons he confirmed in a memorandum which he handed me at the end of our conversation.

(6) His refusals and his reasons seemed to me entirely consistent with his character and with his policies as he had explained them to me during the previous week. They are based on his own religious and patriotic principles and reflect his sound political sense in recognizing clearly his limitations, both spiritual and physical, in this matter. He realizes that, despite his position of leadership in the Arab world, he cannot, without prior consultation, speak for Palestine much less "deliver" Palestine to the Jews, even if he were willing for even an instant to consider such a proposal.

(7) His Majesty went on to explain, he said for the first time to anyone, the reason for his personal hatred of Dr. Weizmann. He said that during the first year of the present world war Dr. Weizmann had imputed to the King's character and motives by an attempted bribe of 1.20 million sterling. Furthermore, the promise of payment, the King was advised, would be guaranteed by President Roosevelt. His Majesty said he had been so incensed at the offer and equally at the inclusion of the President in such a shameful matter that he had never mentioned it again. He now explained it in detail and gave me the name of the intermediary, Mr. John Philby, so that I could understand the King's feelings towards Dr. Weizmann or any of his associates.

(8) As a result of my visit I had a chance to become convinced that there has been no change in the attitude of His Majesty toward the Jewish question in Palestine as expressed in his two confidential letters to President Roosevelt under dates of November 19, 1938 and April 30, 1943. His recent statement to an editor of LIFE magazine merely gave public utterance to what he had already written privately and reflects his sincere opinion from which there will, I believe, be no deviation. Furthermore, he cannot but have realized, by the flood of telegrams and letters of congratulations which he received from Moslems in all parts of the world, that, by his frank and unequivocal statement regarding Palestine, he has gained still greater moral and even political prestige not only throughout the Arab world but among Moslems in Turkey, Russia, India and even China.

(9) The King did not say so, but he clearly has the political acumen to realize that, even if he had no religious convictions on the subject, he still could not

afford

afford to support any Jewish claims to Palestine. For in the light of what he has said and written he would by so doing lose the moral and spiritual leadership of Moslems everywhere that he now enjoys.

(10) The conclusion, it seems quite clear from my visit to Riyadh, is that His Majesty's silence in regard to Dr. Weizmann's proposal put to him by Philby has been completely misinterpreted by certain British officials as implying a possible willingness on the part of the King to consider the proposal. Actually I am convinced that there never was any possibility of acceptance and there is none today. The King may not feel he can prevent by force the establishment of either Palestine as a Jewish State or even a Jewish State in Palestine. He is, however, firmly opposed to both solutions and I see no possibility of his being of any assistance to the Zionists in their efforts to come to terms with the Arabs in Palestine.

(11) In addition to the two written memoranda which I am bringing with me, the King has given me a personal letter to the President and has asked me to transmit certain personal messages. Also His Majesty has agreed to our communicating to the British Government the contents of these two memoranda if the President, after he has seen them, desires to do so.

P.S.P.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 27. 1943

AIR MAIL

Agus
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

No. *109*

To the

Officer in charge of the American Mission,
Baghdad.

The Secretary of State encloses for the information of the Officer in charge of the American Mission a copy of a memorandum of conversation relating to matters affecting Palestine which took place on November 19, 1943 between certain Zionist leaders and officers of the Department.

Enclosure:

Memorandum of conversation,
November 19, 1943.

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: November 19, 1943

SUBJECT: VIEW OF ZIONIST LEADERS REGARDING PALESTINE

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Wise
Mr. Silver
Mr. Goldmann
Mr. Murray
Mr. Cilling
Mr. Merriam
Mr. Wilson

COPIES TO: London, Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut, Baghdad and Jidda

1-1403

The conversation was opened by Dr. Goldmann, who said that the visit of his colleagues and himself to the Department was inspired by recent developments regarding Palestine and the Arab problem in general. He referred in this connection particularly to a Jewish Telegraphic Agency report from Cairo under date of November 16, which stated that the question of partition of Palestine had been reopened at the recent Arab conferences in Cairo. Mr. Murray said that he had not seen this report and he inquired whether partition was being officially put forward by the British Government at this time. Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Silver replied that such was their understanding, at which Mr. Murray expressed surprise.

Mr. Murray then inquired as to the background of the recent resignation of Mr. Ben Gurion as Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive. Dr. Goldmann stated, and his colleagues concurred, that the reported disagreement between Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben Gurion was a matter of technicalities only, and was largely caused by the difficulties which the Zionist leaders in different parts of the world were experiencing under wartime conditions in meeting or communicating with each other. The view was expressed by Dr. Goldmann that if Mr. Ben Gurion and

Dr. Weizmann

Dr. Weizmann were able to meet, their difficulties would quickly be composed. When the discussion later reverted to this point, Dr. Weizmann said that a meeting was planned in the near future in London between Zionist leaders from Palestine, the United States and Great Britain.

Dr. Silver, returning to the topic originally advanced by Dr. Goldmann, said that American Zionists were concerned about recent reports from the Near East, relating particularly to Arab union, and that they were anxious to learn the attitude of this Government toward such developments.

Mr. Murray said that there were two points to be borne in mind here; first, that the area in question was a British theater of war, and secondly, that he felt the term "Arab union" was too specific to describe any present proposals looking toward closer relations between the Arabs. On the first point he indicated that it would not be proper for this Government to intervene in an area which was primarily a British military theater, without our undertaking corresponding military responsibilities, which we had not done. As regards Arab unity, he said that whereas he could envisage cultural, customs, or postal union, he did not believe that a political union or even anything closer than a very loose federation was feasible or was contemplated during the recent discussions in Cairo. This was concurred in by Mr. Alling, who pointed out that dynastic considerations as between the different Royal Houses concerned would alone make any close union impossible.

Dr. Silver replied that he understood fully the military considerations in the situation, but he called attention to the fact that these considerations had not prevented our Government from making its views known within the past week in the same area, in the case of the Lebanon. Mr. Murray remarked that in this case our action had been dictated by the danger that developments in the Lebanon might affect the military security of the entire area, and that if this condition were to recur elsewhere, our intervention would similarly be warranted. He then outlined briefly the present position of the British Government with regard to Palestine.

Dr. Silver said that he and his associates were familiar with the attitude of the British and that what they had

come to seek was enlightenment on the attitude of the American Government. He referred, in this connection, to the friendly spirit which this Government had shown toward Zionism since the days of President Wilson and the post-war negotiations with the British regarding the mandate. He said that the Zionists felt that within the last year or two there had been a change in the attitude of this Government, which they felt had become a negative one. Mr. Murray replied that the period of one or two years mentioned by Dr. Silver corresponded with the introduction of the military factor as the predominant one in the situation and that this undoubtedly accounted for any feeling which the Zionists might have in this regard. He added that any definitive settlement of the Palestine problem would have to await the end of the war and be incorporated in the general peace settlement, to which Dr. Silver and the others present agreed. Dr. Silver repeated, however, that the Zionists were anxious to see that the friendly attitude adopted toward them by this Government, until recently at least, should continue in the preliminary negotiations which would undoubtedly lead up to the peace settlement, as well as at the peace table itself. He drew attention to the fact that in the discussions leading up to the Balfour Declaration and the establishment of the mandate, the Jews of this country had been consulted and kept informed by this Government, and he said that they desired assurances that this procedure would again be followed. He expressed concern lest the Jews find themselves presented with a fait accompli. He again referred to the attitude of this Government in the past toward the Palestine question, which he said was exemplified in the Congressional Resolution of 1922 and the American-British Convention of 1924. Since that time, he declared, the British Government in promulgating the White Paper in 1939 had by unilateral action completely altered the terms of the mandate.

Mr. Murray replied that the Convention of 1924 was only one of a number of agreements which the United States had negotiated with the different mandatory powers and that it was designed, like the others, primarily to safeguard the rights of this Government under the various mandates. He pointed out, in this connection, that the interest of this Government in Palestine was naturally subordinate to the paramount interest of Great Britain as the mandatory power. Dr. Silver and his associates

concurred

concurred in this and Dr. Goldmann said that our intervention should be based not on legal but on "political, moral and spiritual" grounds. He referred to Mr. Churchill's opposition to the White Paper on its issuance in 1939 and said that with the exception of a small group, principally in the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration, opinion in Great Britain was crystallizing against the White Paper.

Mr. Murray pointed out that at the time of the issuance of the White Paper Mr. Churchill had not been a member of the British Government and that therefore his criticism, which was well known, could not be regarded as binding upon that Government. Furthermore, Mr. Murray said, as the Premier of a democratic government, Mr. Churchill could not impose his views, whatever they might be, upon the majority. Mr. Murray pointed out that since Dr. Weizmann was a British subject and was residing in London it would appear appropriate for him to initiate discussion with the British Government, and he inquired what reports the American Zionists were receiving from Dr. Weizmann respecting his conversations with Mr. Churchill.

Dr. Goldmann replied that according to the information which they received from Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Churchill was still opposed to the White Paper policy. Dr. Goldmann added that their reports confirmed the view that opposition to the White Paper was growing in Great Britain, and he cited a recent statement in Parliament by Colonel Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, which Dr. Goldmann said could be interpreted as indicating that the British Government might be prepared to revise the terms of the White Paper with respect to immigration.

Dr. Wise asserted that he could not believe that President Roosevelt, with whom he had discussed the question on several occasions, would assent to the putting into effect of the White Paper. Dr. Wise said that he felt confident of the President's sympathetic attitude toward Zionism and that he was certain the President had not been persuaded by those persons who sought to substitute other areas for Palestine as possible centers of settlement for the Jews.

Mr. Murray said that he did not believe that the President excluded other areas from his thinking, which Dr. Wise amended by stating that such areas should be

supplemental

supplemental to and not in substitution for Palestine. Mr. Murray drew attention in this connection to the President's interest in the refugee problem, as evidenced by the Evian Conference and the formation of the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Dr. Silver interjected that neither at the Evian nor at the subsequent Bermuda Conference was the subject of Palestine permitted to be discussed. He continued that in the Zionist view there was no other area which could take the place of Palestine, and he mentioned the experiment in the Dominican Republic as an example. Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver said that they would furnish Mr. Murray with a copy of a study of the Dominican experiment made by Brookings Institution, which they said demonstrated conclusively the failure of the project. Dr. Silver added that only some 600 Jews had settled in the Dominican Republic and that most of them were now trying to obtain admission to the United States. Such a desire, Dr. Wise maintained, was not felt by those Jews who had settled in Palestine. Dr. Wise continued that, in so far as immigration was concerned, the threatened extermination of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe had reduced from two million to five hundred thousand or, at most, one million, the number of potential Jewish immigrants into Palestine.

Dr. Silver declared that Palestine could easily absorb the number of immigrants mentioned by Dr. Wise, stressing in this connection the increased industrial production which had taken place in Palestine in recent years. The White Paper, he added, had been issued without any regard for the absorptive capacity of the country, and without consultation with the Zionists. It was this sort of decision, he repeated, which the Zionists hoped would not be made during current or future negotiations leading up to the peace settlement.

Mr. Murray said that as far as he knew no such negotiations or conversations had been initiated between this Government and the British Government respecting Palestine. Reverting to the partition plan, he inquired whether the plan had received the support of any substantial Jewish element in this country, to which Dr. Silver replied in the negative. The latter said that he had been a delegate

to

to the Zionist Congress which had discussed this plan, and that the American delegation was almost unanimously opposed to partition, although certain Central European delegations had at that time been in favor of the plan. He and his colleagues agreed that all sections of American Jewry were now opposed to partition, as they were to the White Paper. In this latter connection they declared that the American Jewish Committee, which recently split with the American Jewish Conference, was in agreement with respect to opposing the White Paper and to favoring in principle establishment of a Jewish national state in Palestine, although differing as to its expediency at the present time. Dr. Wise said that he would send Mr. Murray a copy of the resolutions of the American Jewish Committee on this point.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

AIR MAIL

December 1. 1943

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To the Officer in charge
of the American Mission,
Baghdad.

The Secretary of State encloses for the information of the Officer in charge of the Mission a copy of a publication (no. 180 dated November 30, 1943), entitled Aftermath of the American Jewish Conference, prepared by the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services.

Enclosure:

Publication as stated.

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COPY

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

NUMBER 160

20 NOVEMBER 1943

AFTERMATH OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

As the war approaches a conclusion, the problem of Palestine's future moves steadily to the fore. In matters affecting Palestine a powerful pressure potential is the American Jewish community of nearly 5,000,000, the largest in the world. Vigorous demands for creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, which were adopted by an overwhelming vote at the recent American Jewish Conference, have now constrained the minority of non- and anti-Zionists into the most open opposition. With official Zionist policy becoming more militant, repercussions are being felt in Jewish circles everywhere. These developments, together with the approaching fulfillment of the terms of the British White Paper of 1939 and the publicity-seeking activities of extremist groups, have brought the issue of Palestine closer home than ever before to American Jewry.

THE harmony and unity of purpose which was hoped for in the American Jewish community following the meeting of the American Jewish Conference in New York, 29 August-2 September 1943 (as described in FN Number 149, 13 September 1943), has failed of realization. Recent weeks have brought again to the American Jewish community bitter factional disputes. The Zionist leadership which sponsored at the Conference last September a resolution, voted almost unanimously, to call for the establishment of a Jewish national state in Palestine, still represents the substantial majority of American Jewish opinion, but the minority opposition has moved to attack. The militantly anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism peppers away at the Zionist program, so far with limited results. Of more significance is the withdrawal of the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee from further participation in the Conference.

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It is charged now by the opposition that the American Jewish Conference was not a representative body, that it was packed from start to finish by the Zionists, and that the local elections were so controlled that delegates came to the meeting with voting directives from Zionist bodies. According to these circles the Conference excluded many national and local agencies, whereas Zionist organizations with overlapping memberships were admitted. Large welfare agencies of the type of the Joint Distribution Committee and the various Jewish philanthropic federations, many of whose leaders and members are non- or anti-Zionist, were not represented. Since a considerable segment of the American Jewish community participates in Jewish affairs only through these charitable organizations, many American Jews can be said to have been denied a voice at the Conference.

The American Jewish Committee Withdraws Through its president, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, the American Jewish Committee promptly registered disagreement with the Palestine Resolution, but it had been hoped that this leading non-Zionist group would continue to participate in the Conference for the sake of Jewish unity on other issues. This hope was short-lived. Following a meeting of its executive committee on 24 October, the American Jewish Committee announced withdrawal from further association with the Conference. It based its action on the Conference's demand for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine and on subordination by the Conference of other Jewish issues to "the problem of the political structure of Palestine."

This decision of the executive elicited immediate reaction within the American Jewish Committee. Three prominent Zionists resigned from the executive committee: they were Mrs. David de Sola Pool, president of Hadassah, women's Zionist organization; and Judge Louis E. Levinthal and Magistrate Morris Rothenberg, both former presidents of the Zionist Organization of America. During subsequent weeks a number of organizations — Hadassah, Independent Order Brith Abraham, Free Sons of Israel, United Synagogue of America, the Rabbinical Assembly of America — gave up their membership in the Committee. Criticism from Zionist groups and the Jewish press was widespread. The American Zionist Emergency Council, political executive for American Zionist groups, denounced the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee as "a calculated attack on Jewish unity" and a disruptive factor, but it cautioned against exaggerating the importance of the secession in the

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light of what it termed the relative insignificance of the Committee in American life.

These events have brought the American Jewish Committee to internal reorganization. From a loose federation of participating Jewish bodies of all types, it plans to make itself now into a direct membership organization, and it will soon launch a campaign for supporters of its position.

Spokesmen for the American Jewish Committee characterize it not so much anti-Zionist as anti-nationalist. The Committee endorses the idea of Palestine as a refuge for Jews, but does not support the program for a Jewish national state. In line with this policy, the Committee disapproves of the British White Paper of 1939 and seeks its abrogation. Above all, however, it emphasizes that there should be no political identification of American Jews with the governing of Palestine. On these grounds it criticizes the direction of current Zionist leadership which culminated in the Palestine Resolution at the American Jewish Conference.

Describing the position of the American Jewish Committee as that of a "hopeless minority," one of its leaders has emphasized the difficulties which face the non-Zionists in trying to combat what he described as a well-organized propaganda machine. The Committee plans to educate and enlighten American Jews on "the real issues" involved in the future of Palestine. Its leaders are convinced that the great mass of the community is completely ignorant of the facts, and is being misled. Even the Zionists, they insist, do not believe that the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is possible and are consequently raising a false hope. The Committee leaders expect that, if this view can be made to prevail, Zionist leaders will appear so discredited in the eyes of American Jewry that the leadership offered by the American Jewish Committee will be acknowledged as the wisest.

Other Dissenters Although many Jewish organizations at meetings and conventions held since the Conference closed have endorsed all the decisions reached at that assembly, there have been a few dissenting voices besides that of the American Jewish Committee. The executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a Reform lay group, unanimously approved all resolutions adopted by the American Jewish Conference except the Palestine Resolution; on this it postponed decision. The National Council of Jewish Women, an affiliate of the American Jewish Committee,

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endorsed the action of its delegates who had refrained from voting on the Commonwealth issue, but remained within the Conference.

Jewish Labor Committee An index worthy of attention is to be found in the Jewish Labor Committee, a Socialist group whose organ, the *Forward* of New York, was the only Yiddish paper which did not bitterly denounce the recent anti-Zionist action of the American Jewish Committee. Delegates of the Jewish Labor Committee refrained from voting on the Palestine Resolution at the September Conference. The Committee's leaders are traditionally anti-Zionist, but the organization has shifted to a non-Zionist stand because the Jewish Socialists have found it expedient to ally themselves with the Labor Zionists (Poale-Zion) on many labor issues and on matters of domestic economic policy. The Socialists have also been waging a bitter struggle with the Communists in New York City over control of the American Labor Party, and here they find it inexpedient to alienate the large group of Labor Zionists which has always constituted a major element in the right-wing coalition to which the Socialists belong. Should the Jewish Labor Committee nevertheless reaffirm its traditional opposition to Zionism and resign from the Conference (a development which some observers believe possible) this would bring the most serious blow which the Zionists have had to face to date.

Opposition from Religious Groups Dissatisfaction with political Zionism as exemplified in the American Jewish Conference has come from opposite poles of Jewish religious thought. The Agudas Israel of America, an Orthodox body which has long objected to political Zionism on religious grounds and so refused to participate in the Conference, recently denounced present-day Zionist leaders in the United States as assimilationists and opponents of genuine Orthodox Judaism. The Agudas Israel has contemplated putting forth a program of its own to demand that a Jewish Commonwealth be placed under international supervision.

Although Zionist leadership in the United States today has the support of many Reform rabbis it is precisely from this branch of American Judaism that the principal religious opposition to the extreme Zionist program stems. In an address marking the opening of the academic year, Dr. Julian Morgenstern, president of Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, leading Reform Jewish theological seminary, uttered a bitter polemic against the present trends of Zionism. Reviewing the birth and development of Zionism, Dr. Morgenstern recounted:

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It has run the entire gamut of modern racial nationalism from the, as we now see, very modest hope of restoration of Palestine as the center of a new, positive and intensive Jewish cultural life, to the extreme theory of Jewish nationalism, practically identical with Nazist and Fascist theory, which holds that the bonds of Jewish racial nationalism are eternally indissoluble; that there can ever be only one Jewish homeland, only one land in which the Jew can ever feel himself completely at home; that eternally he is a member of the Jewish racial nation, however that term may be defined; that he resides among the nations, as at present, only as a temporary sojourner. . . .

Despite the oft-repeated, high-sounding asseverations of the beneficent role which a Jewish state or commonwealth in Palestine may play or will play in setting a happy pattern of equitable social relations for all other nations to emulate, the most recent formulation of which is in the bombastic peroration of the so-called Palestine resolution of the American Jewish Conference, the fact, incontestably established by history, still confronts us with the brazen truth, that the true genius and destiny of Israel finds expression only in its role as a religious people. . . .

Evidence is already at hand to indicate that the Zionist issue may cause further dissension in the Jewish religious community. Two Reform congregations, one in Houston and the other in Tulsa, which are dominated by rabbis and laymen sympathetic to anti-Zionism, have amended their by-laws so as to exclude from congregational offices all members who admit to being Zionists. On the other hand, in Philadelphia many members of one congregation walked out from a rabbi's Yom Kippur sermon when he attacked the American Jewish Conference.

*American Council
for Judaism*

The views of Dr. Morgenstern on Palestine and Zionism are almost identical with the ideals expressed in the program put forth by the American Council for Judaism. This is a group established late in 1942, which exploded a bomb-shell by issuing an uncompromisingly anti-Zionist statement while the American Jewish Conference was in session. Deep resentment was aroused among the delegates and the action contributed unquestionably to the virtually unanimous passage of the Palestine Resolution. There has been criticism therefore of its timing. The Council insists, however, that its initiative at the moment chosen was well justified by the amount of publicity which resulted, serving to call the attention of the American public to the fact that not all American Jews were Zionist.

The American Council for Judaism, which is headed by Lessing Rosenwald

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of the well-known merchandising family, and Rabbi Elmer Berger of Flint, Michigan, has now inaugurated a vigorous campaign for membership and commenced publication of a semi-monthly bulletin. It is sponsoring an advertising campaign in the hostile Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press. Its program rests upon a conviction that the basis of unity among Jews must be religion and that Jews should consider themselves nationals of those countries in which they live and those lands their homelands. It advocates a program of rehabilitation and re-settlement for uprooted Jewry, in which Palestine should continue to play a part; but it insists that any hopeful future for the Jews in Palestine depends upon the ultimate establishment of a democratic government there, in which Jews, Moslems, and Christians should be justly represented. The Council opposes efforts to establish a Jewish State in Palestine or elsewhere and believes that all philosophies stressing Jewish racialism, nationalism, and homelessness are injurious to the Jewish interest.

Whether this militant anti-Zionist group will meet with any broad success remains to be seen. The Council has established a branch in San Francisco and claims to have enrolled some 1,200 members throughout the United States during the initial months of its campaign. Although numerically small, it is financially strong since its supporters are to be found chiefly in the upper economic stratum of assimilated Jewish society. It would welcome some sort of merger with the American Jewish Committee, with which it shares many common interests and some interlocking leadership, but such a union does not at the moment seem very probable. The Committee is inclined to question whether the Council does not unwisely overstate the anti-Zionist position. It apprehends that a union might only bring to the Committee the additional ill will in the Jewish community which the Council seems to have engendered by its belligerency.

The Charity Agencies A possibility exists that Jewish charity agencies may be drawn into the maelstrom of Zionist political controversy. Hitherto, the important welfare organizations, such as the Joint Distribution Committee and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, have kept clear of political entanglements. Many of the leaders of these charities, and many of their chief financial supporters, are inclined toward non- or anti-Zionism. Since they represent an influential portion of the Jewish community, they have resented the exclusion of their organizations from the Conference

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last September. It is very unlikely that these agencies have any desire openly to align themselves with the opponents of political Zionism, but there exists some possibility that they may be forced to do so. At a recent meeting in New York, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, chairman of the United Jewish War Effort, advocated supervision of the Joint Distribution Committee and other relief agencies by the Conference. Any attempt to enforce such supervision would undoubtedly meet with much opposition and become probably a boomerang against the Zionists.

The British White Paper Underlying the increased tension in American Jewish circles and the widening rift between the Zionists and their opponents has been a turn toward extremism in Zionist affairs. While there has always been disagreement between the rival factions, based on fundamentally divergent points of view, there have been occasions when Zionists, non-Zionists, and even anti-Zionists have been able to cooperate on common Jewish issues. This fact inspired the American Jewish Conference.

Zionists and non-Zionists alike are opposed to the British White Paper and actively seek its abrogation. The American Jewish Committee, in the statement issued upon its withdrawal from the Conference, emphasized its determined opposition to the White Paper, which (it will be remembered) closes the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration after 31 March 1944. The American Council for Judaism has not yet publicly announced its position on the White Paper. However, one of its members has privately expressed a personal opinion which may well reflect the Council's probable stand. He objected to the White Paper on the ground that anything which restricts Jewish rights anywhere is anti-democratic, but not because it specifically restricts the immigration of Jews into Palestine.

As the date for the termination of Jewish immigration into Palestine rapidly approaches, opposition to the White Paper has increased. The American Zionist Emergency Council, under the direction of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, has begun a vigorous campaign, appealing for intervention by the United States Government to obtain suspension of the terms of this controversial document. Similarly, the Zionist Organization of America sponsored a mass protest demonstration in Carnegie Hall on 1 November, the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, at which messages of support were received from Wendell Willkie and Governor Thomas E. Dewey, and a resolution adopted appealing for

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President Roosevelt's intercession. The recent announcement of the British Colonial Office that those Jews entitled to enter Palestine under the terms of the White Paper, but prevented by circumstances of war from so doing, will be admitted after March 1944, is hardly regarded as a concession.

Moderate Zionists Lose Out The unity of purpose between the Zionists and their opponents on abrogation of the White Paper does not lead to agreement over the means to be used to further this aim. Disagreement has been increased as a result of a shift of control in Zionist leadership away from the hands of the moderates into those of men more extreme who have made the political independence of Palestine the paramount issue of Zionism. At the American Jewish Conference the veteran Zionist leaders—Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Robert Szold, and Mrs. David de Sola Pool—were forced into secondary roles and the reins of control were seized by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Nahum Goldmann, and Louis Lipsky, who won the Conference over completely to a more extreme Zionist position.

This development is not confined to the American Zionist scene alone. The attempted resignation recently of David Ben-Gurion as chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was part of the same trend. Ben-Gurion has been demanding more direct action and a militant program, including the creation of a Jewish Army, non-cooperation with the Palestine Government, and active resistance to Britain's policy of curtailing immigration. This latest resignation, Ben-Gurion's third since the beginning of the war and, like the others, rejected, appears to be a direct challenge to the more moderate leadership of Dr. Chaim Weizmann for the control of Zionist policies.

The Revisionists Ben-Gurion's current position has led to frequent rumors that he may join forces with the most extreme wing of the Zionist movement represented by the New Zionist Organization, commonly known as the Revisionists. This group, founded by the late Vladimir Jabotinsky, has steadfastly demanded the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, to which it insists the Transjordan should be joined. The Revisionists have remained outside of the World Zionist Organization, have refused all cooperation with other Zionist groups. Their American adherents would not participate in the recent American Jewish Conference.

Numerically weak, with no more than several hundred supporters in the United States the New Zionist Organization has during the past few years

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been vociferous out of all proportion to its actual strength. Its activities in this country are being directed by a delegation of Palestinians, headed by Peter Bergson and including Eri Jabotinsky, son of Vladimir, and Alexander Hadani. By setting up a number of committees and frequently placing in the American press full page advertisements, the Revisionists have kept their activities in the public eye and before American legislators from whom they have won endorsements. The Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews, the Emergency Committee to save the Jewish People of Europe, the American Resettlement Committee for Uprooted Jewry, and a newest venture, the American Legion for a Free Palestine which seeks as members 1,000,000 Jews and non-Jews—all of these groups through interlocking leadership are Revisionist-sponsored and are connected with the New Zionist Organization. Funds for their vigorous propaganda campaign have come from a few rich backers, including, it is believed, a number of anti-British Gentiles. Their advertisements, which invariably carry a fund-soliciting coupon, are thought to be self-sustaining.

While the general trend of Zionist political policy as manifested at the American Jewish Conference has now become almost indistinguishable from the demands of the Revisionists, the latter maintain independence of action. Zionist circles in the United States have mildly criticized the publicity tactics of the Revisionists, but they have done little to attempt to control them. It is believed, however, that the most recent activities of this group may cause a change in the official Zionist policy toward it. A pilgrimage, sponsored by the Revisionists, of some 500 Orthodox rabbis to Washington on 7 October to petition the President and Congress to rescue the Jews of Europe was viewed with misgiving in many Zionist circles. The recent action of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe in sponsoring a Joint Resolution in Congress which calls for the creation of a special commission to plan the rescue of the Jews of Europe has finally brought the matter to a head. The American Jewish Conference is now considering some action to indicate to the public that these Revisionist-controlled committees represent only a small group of people and are not authorized to speak for American Jewry.

Baghdad, December 4, 1943.

No. 29

Confidential

Subject: Dr. Fadhil Jamali, Longtime Counsellor-Designate of Iraqi Legation at Washington, Begins Series of Anti-Zionist Articles in Baghdad Press.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Dr. Fadhil Jamali, American-educated longtime Counsellor-designate of the Iraqi Legation at Washington, has begun (under the pen-name of Ibn Al-Iraq - Son of Iraq) publication of a series of anti-Zionist articles, of which the first, entitled "Arab Democracy and the Lies of Political Zionists in the United States of America", appearing in Az-Zaman of Baghdad on December 1, 1943, is forwarded herewith in translation.

Doctor Jamali's appointment to Washington was made almost a year ago, apparently with the purpose of getting him out of the country, but for various reasons he has been able to delay his departure from Baghdad, ever hoping that he may procure again his former position as Director General of Education, from which he was ousted in a purge of anti-British Iraqi officials in the Ministry of Education. Latterly Doctor Jamali has been functioning as an interim official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, reading there the voluminous assortments of Zionist material which the Legation at Washington sends the Ministry, and he has based his present article on the contents of those articles.

Although he has not yet resigned his post as Counsellor-designate of the Iraqi Legation at Washington, Doctor Jamali states frankly that he has no intention of proceeding to the United States unless he can take his wife and three sons with him by air. The Department is aware that this is impossible, and a termination of Doctor Jamali's designation to Washington can therefore be expected.

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

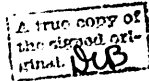
Enclosure:

Translation of editorial,
as stated.

To the Department in ozalid.

Copies to:

American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Beirut.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.



Enclosure to despatch No. 29 of December 4, 1943 from
American Legation at Baghdad, Iraq.

TRANSLATION

ARAB DEMOCRACY AND THE LIFE OF POLITICAL ZIONISTS
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

True democratic life cannot stand nor rest except
on the basis of complete frankness and the presentation
of all the facts.

In the following Zionist writings we felt that the
democratic and human duty calls us to present to Arab
readers in particular and people of the United Nations
in general the falsifications of truth exploited by
many Zionist writers in their aggressive propaganda
against the Arabs in Zionist writings. We do this to
clarify the truth without which the new democratic
world cannot stand erect.

Before entering the discussion we wish to declare
that we distinguish clearly between Jews and Zionists
and believe that the Zionists make but a part of Jewry.
Jews who are not political Zionists are our brothers in
humanity; Arab Jews are our brothers in nationalism. We
acknowledge with gratitude the good done by our brother
Jews who lived and still live with the Arab nation and
who have become an inseparable part of the Arab body.
These shared our intellectual, cultural, social, and
political life in the various epochs of history. These
are our brethren. They are Arabs like ourselves. They
have what we have, and bear what we bear. We likewise
acknowledge with gratitude the good done by many philosophers,
scientists and intellectual Jews from the sons of other nations
who have rendered human civilization and culture the greatest
services. We also respect spiritual Zionists whose business
is to care for Hebrew culture and who consider Palestine as
only a spiritual symbol to the Jews of the world, without
political ambitions and without aggressive thought towards
the legal people and owners of Palestine.

It is of those who carry on wrongful propaganda
against the Arabic nation, the political Zionists who
enjoy the free atmosphere of the democratic countries,
especially the U.S.A., that we wish to speak, pointing
out some of their falsifications of truth and lies, serving
truth upon which the democratic principle must rest.

Most Zionist books, magazines, and newspapers from
the last World War up to date have not been without some
bad propaganda against the Arabs and Arab nationalism, and
that is in order to justify the aggressive political
Zionist movement and to attack the defensive Arabic point
of view. This propaganda takes different shapes in various
circumstances and conditions. We used to read and still do
read about "Arab backwardness", "Arab ignorance", "Arab
poverty", "Arab barbarism and blood thirstiness", and such
slogans. We have read and still read of "the absence of
any protest on the part of the masses of the Arabs against
the Zionist colonization of Palestine" and that "Arabic
resistance is nothing but "an effendi movement", a "feudal-
lord movement", and "aristocratic movement", and "Arab
nationalism has no existence in the world of reality and

it is nothing but a tool of self-seeking effendis". These and similar epithets and false propaganda recurred in many Zionist writings until the beginning of this war according to the circumstances, as we said, and according to the purpose of the writer.

But Zionist propaganda, especially in America, found a new string to play on since the beginning of this war. This string is Nazism and Fascism. There is nothing easier than attaching the stigma of Nazism and Fascism to someone whom you don't like or to whom you intend to do harm. That is what the Zionists began to do. All the Arabic countries in their eyes are Nazis. Arabic governments, parliaments, kings, and peoples are all Nazis. They are all fifth columnists. There is no one in the Near East who is loyal to the democracies and democratic principles except the Zionist politicians. These are only some of the outlines of many chapters and articles in books and magazines which we came across during this war, some of which are published in England but the greater bulk in U.S.A. The last thing we came across of this sort is the "Zionews" magazine published in U.S.A. This magazine published in its issue of May, 1943, an article entitled, "The Frozen Fifth Column in the Near East", by Dr. Steiner. The writer briefly describes the Arab population of Palestine as fifth columnists long before the Munich Conference, and says that Iraq, its government, parliament, and people, are Nazis; that the Iraqi government did not carry out the death sentences passed on those condemned to death for their complicity in the May 1941 incident; that H.M. the King of Egypt, his government and people, are Fascists and Nazis; that H.M. King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud took a cautious attitude toward the democracies; that H.M. Aman Yahya has Italian tendencies which he hides now; that Syria is full of Nazis and fifth Columnists; and similar lies and falsehoods which have no foundation or shade of truth.

These and similar allegations form the Zionist propaganda in America, the land of liberty and democracy. Is it anything different from Nazi and Fascist propaganda? If Goebbels were a Zionist, would he falsify the truth and the position of the Arab nation more than this falsification?

Do the readers of this Nazi-Zionist propaganda know that the Arabs are by their nature democrats and freedom lovers? Do they know that in the Arabic countries both the old and the young sand and still sing the principles of President Wilson, and that they all today heartily and bodily embrace the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the four Freedoms? Do they know the clear truth that the Holy Koran and the pure religion of Islam both call for consultation in government and for the practise of true democratic principles. Do this writer and others like him offer anything but obvious lies?

Undoubtedly, political Zionist propaganda is a danger to democracy wherever it is found. It is a danger in America and to American democracy for the following reasons:

1) Political Zionists have a great many means of propaganda in their hands. No other propaganda can approach

it,

it, least of all Arabic propaganda.

2) Zionist propaganda enjoys a great liberty and misuses this liberty in the land of liberty. It publishes lies and falsifications of truth without deterrent.

3) Political Zionism is highly organized in America and is greatly supported by money and influence.

4) Political Zionism exploited the sympathy of the free world for the poor Jews, who suffered at the hands of Hitler and his colleagues all sorts of persecution and extermination for their aggressive political ambitions in Arab lands.

5) Some American leaders in the governmental, economic, and academic fields are Zionist politicians.

For these and other reasons the truth may be concealed from the sight of the noble American nation and some great American personalities have been influenced by the false Zionist propaganda. We declare and aver that no matter what the Arabs do and no matter how much they exert themselves, they cannot overcome political Zionist propaganda in America. All we hope is that the Americans themselves may become zealous for truth, especially those of them who know the Arabs and the Arabic world at first hand, whether these be men of politics, culture, religion, or press correspondents. These should reveal the truth to the noble American public and fight the misleading Zionist propaganda. It is through this and this alone that we hope that America, the mother of liberty and the arsenal of democracy, could safeguard itself against the misleading Zionist propaganda which is one of the greatest enemies of peace and democracy in the world.

Ibn al-Iraq (Son of Iraq).